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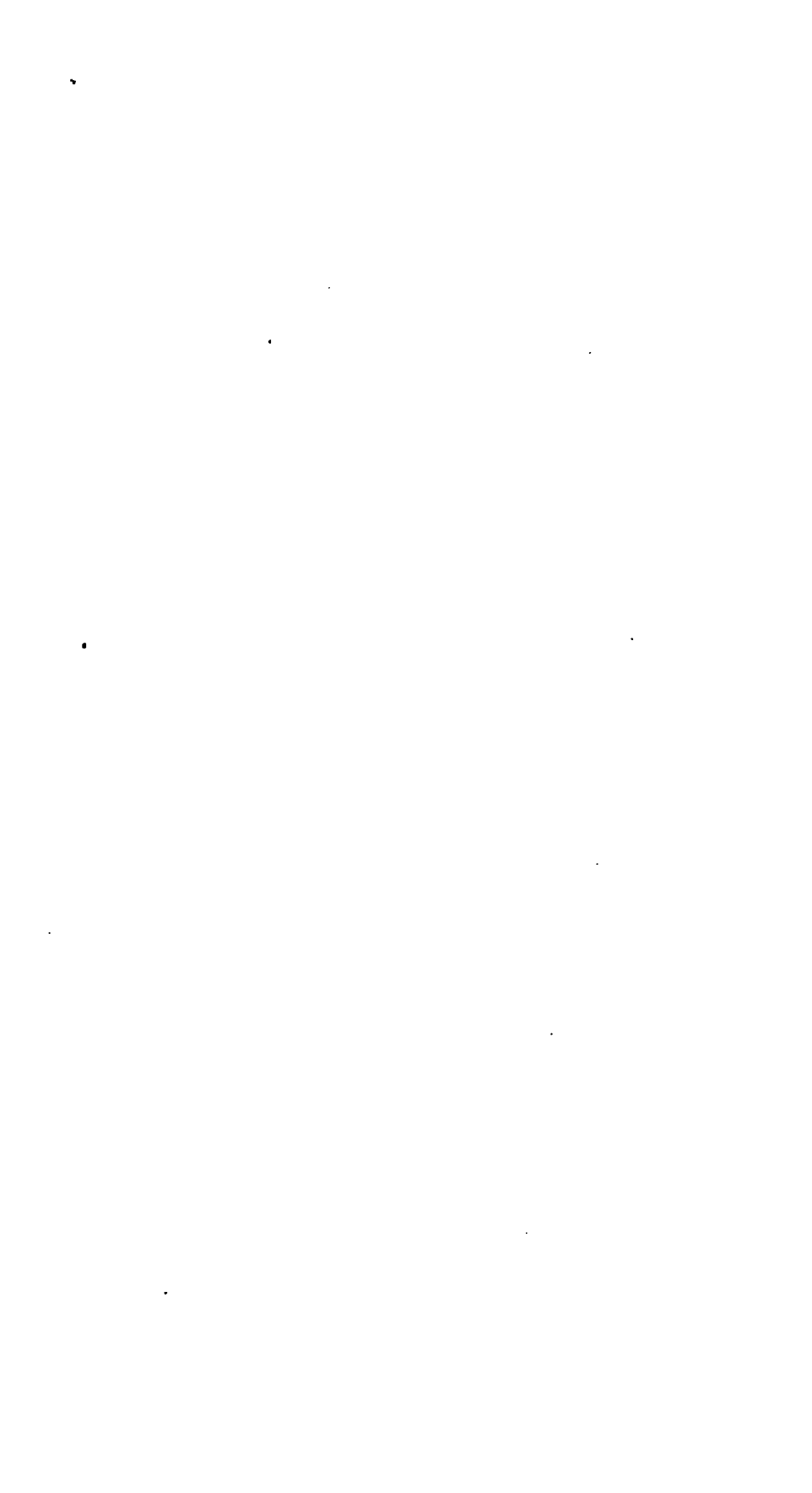
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HISTORY

OF THE

SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA.

148 RICHARDSON, DERRY

HISTORY
OF THE
SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA;
THEIR
RISE, PROGRESS, AND DECLINE;
WITH NOTICES OF THE
CHURCHES OF TRALLES, MAGNESIA, COLOSSE,
HIERAPOLIS, LYONS, AND VIENNE;
DESIGNED TO SHOW THE
FULFILMENT OF SCRIPTURE PROPHECY:
BY THE
REV. T. MILNER, A.M.

‘Ο ἔχων οὖν, ἀκουσάτω τί τὸ Πνεῦμα λέγει ταῖς Εκκλησίαις’.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛ. cap. ii. 7.

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616.



P R E F A C E.

IN presenting this volume to the Public, some remarks may be necessary as to its origin.

The plan of the following work is among the reminiscences of the writer's earliest years; formed in the first instance with no definite object in view, and afterwards prosecuted as the occasional amusement and occupation of solitary hours. It has assumed its present shape in consequence of the importance of the subject, and from a hope that it will interest the friends of religion, and if so, in some humble degree advance the cause of truth.

The course of sacred prophecy has been traced by many able hands, but its exten-

sion to the apocalyptic churches has been subject to slight and incidental notice. Bishop Newton dismisses it with a few pages in his admirable Dissertations; and Keith in his Manual is necessarily brief and hasty. And yet there cannot be advanced a more striking illustration of the “*sure* word of prophecy,” than in the history of the Asian churches — once brilliant with gospel light, but now, in consequence of a predicted apostacy, the subjects of predicted ruin and desolation.

The scenes of the sacred heptarchy have been visited by travellers of various nations; but I am principally indebted to the agents of the Dilettanti Society.

The Society of Dilettanti was first formed in the year 1734, and consisted of fifty-four noblemen and gentlemen distinguished for their attainments in classical antiquity. The spirit of discovery which characterises the present day, was then beginning to appear; and in 1764 the society determined to send a mission to travel in Asia Minor

and Greece. The individuals selected for this important enterprise, were Mr. Chandler and Nicholas Revett Esq. with Mr. Pars, a young painter. Their instructions were drawn up by Mr. Wood, editor of the *Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec*, and signed May 17th, 1764, by the Earl of Charlemont and eight other eminent members. The results of this undertaking we have in *Chandler's Travels*, with *Revett's* remarks, and two splendid works, "*Ionian Antiquities, or Ruins of magnificent and famous Buildings in Ionia*," inscribed to his Majesty, London, 1769; and "*Inscriptiones antiquæ, pleræque nondum editæ, in Asia Minori et Græcia, præsertim Athenis, collectæ*," Oxford, 1774, folio. I regret that I have not been able to avail myself, to a greater extent, of these valuable works; but the size of my volume would have been materially increased.

The other travellers whose works I have cited, are mentioned in a list in the Appendix.

In subjecting myself to the ordeal of public criticism, I could have wished to have presented this volume in a more finished state; but such as it is, I offer it to the reader, expecting that candour which any attempt to be useful may claim. I pretend only to have collected what others have scattered; to have compressed the statements of ancient and modern Travel, to advance the cause of sacred truth.

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THE last book mentioned in the sacred canon, is designated in our version, "*The Revelation of St. John the Divine.*" This title was not originally prefixed by its author, but came into use in a later age of the church, to distinguish genuine and authentic from surreptitious revelations: it is, hence, rejected by Griesbach, as wanting in many of the most ancient manuscripts. The first verse undoubtedly supplies us with the proper inscription — "*The Revelation of Jesus Christ*" — given indeed immediately to John, with a commission to publish it. Soon after the close of the first century, in the age succeeding that of the apostles, many false Christs and prophets appeared, to dispute the claims of the Holy One of God; and various productions were circulated, arrogating to themselves the honours of divine inspiration, as the writings of apostolical men. It became, therefore,

necessary, that the early Christians should distinguish their sacred records from these impudent forgeries; and, hence, "the Apocalypse of John" was the title given as a distinctive sign of its scriptural authenticity, to the "Revelation of Jesus Christ."

The subject of the Apocalypse seems to be, the fortunes of the Christian church, from the period when its writer flourished, to the consummation of all things. The mighty conflict to be carried on in the intermediate ages between light and darkness—the rewards of them who bear the burden and heat of the day, and perish in the contest—the providence of God superintending these momentous movements, and directing and supporting its divinely-commissioned agents—the success which shall ultimately crown the cause of the Lamb, still as if newly slain upon the throne—and the new heaven and the new earth, which will succeed the wreck of this world of deformity and crime—are the principal features of the moral landscape which are sketched by the revealing spirit. These topics are designated, "things which must shortly come to pass;" not that the events referred to, will in a short period be realized, but the coming to pass of the things spoken of shall immediately commence, and be progressing until the time of the end:—

———— *et incipient magni procedere menses.*

"And those times pregnant with the most stupendous events, will begin to roll on."

The Apocalypse is thus a link connecting the volume of inspiration with the final dissolution—an oracle

still uttering in the world's ear, mysterious and deep-toned announcements of Jehovah's plans, maintaining a communication between man and the eternal throne.

The extension of the mediatorial kingdom of the Messiah, and its ultimate universality, constitute the great theme of the Revelations, as well as of all sacred prophecy: the fates and fortunes of heathen nations are indeed frequently referred to by the ancient prophets; but such references appear to be deviations from their main object, and to have been made only when the political circumstances of those nations became associated with their subject. The great monarchies of antiquity, by invasion and conquest, became intimately connected with the Jewish church; to them its members were at more than one period politically subservient: the priests and the Levites were transported from Siloa's brook, to hang their harps upon the willows of the Euphrates; and the sphere of prophetic enunciation was extended to the Gentile communities, when their history became thus interwoven with that of the chosen people. The fortunes of the Christian church have been in many respects similar to those of its predecessor; it has not been suffered to "dwell alone" unconnected with the revolutions of earthly power; the decline or increase of religious knowledge, and the progress or retardment of the cause of truth, have frequently been influenced by political convulsions: and, hence, as a proper object of prophecy, the Apocalyptic records take cognizance of the changing dominion of man, with the progressive kingdom of Christ.

It is not, therefore, surprising, that the contents of

this book should have attracted the attention of the church, almost more than any other; and that its interpretation should have been a matter of solicitude to its most acute expositors. But we have scarcely an instance in the whole compass of sacred and profane literature, of any other piece of writing having been the subject of such conflicting opinions. Scaliger was pleased to call Calvin "wise," because he did not write upon the Apocalypse;¹ Whitby has followed the example of the Genevan divine; and to Wesley it was a sealed book before he met with the *Eklarte Offenbarung* of Bengelius.² The difficulty in its elucidation arises from the figurative language in which its announcements are conveyed—the lofty series of visions and symbols employed in its disclosures—and the yet unfulfilled state of many of its predictions. A prophecy can only be fully interpreted by the event to which it refers; and so long as the event is future, the prediction must remain in some degree obscure. All inquiries, therefore, with reference to unfulfilled prophecy, should be conducted in a spirit of modesty and caution; for it is the part of a finite capacity, to apprehend what is revealed, and not to prejudge what is in concealment. "The folly of interpreters," says Sir I. Newton, "has been to foretell times and things by the prophecy, as if God designed to make them prophets. He gave this and the prophecies of the Old Testament, not to gratify men's curiosity by ena-

¹ "Calvinus sapit quod in Apocalypsin non scripsit." Scal.

² The works of Bengelius—*Gnomon Novi Testamenti*—*Eklarte Offenbarung*—*Crisis in Apocalypsin*—still remain among the most valuable notices of the Revelations.

bling them to fore-know things; but that, after they were fulfilled, they might be interpreted by the event, and his own providence, not the interpreters, be then manifested thereby to the world."³ Of this rule of interpretation, the major part of annotators upon the Apocalypse have been unmindful; and, hence, many of their writings might be mistaken for attempts to establish their own foresight, rather than to vindicate Jehovah's prescience.

At the period when the close of the scripture canon was given to the church, the fiercest storms of persecution were beating upon it, and in such circumstances the discoveries unfolded were peculiarly seasonable, exhibiting to the suffering community an Almighty Protector controlling the "great fight of afflictions," and developing, as the mighty result, the final triumph of their much-despised cause. The followers of the Saviour were indeed "troubled on every side:" surrounded with the bigotted votaries of paganism, and, professing a religion which tolerated not the claims of a rival; the whole civilized world was in arms against them, and to preserve from a hopeless despondency, some assurance seemed necessary, that however "cast down" they should not be "destroyed." The revelation by John was designed to convey intimations to this effect:—after a splendid procession of vials pouring forth, and trumpets sounding, all antichristian authority and power is put down—and the faithful, amid their fiery trials, were cheered with the annunciation of ultimate triumph. In vain, then, it was, that the Cæsar sent forth death on his pale horse

³ Sir I. Newton on the Apocalypse, p. 251.

against the Christian bands; the victory presented to their view, however prospective and far distant, sustained them amid evil report; and from the cloud of witnesses to which they have been gathered, they have beheld the progressive advances of the persecuted faith to its high destination.

Adapted as this last roll of prophecy was to the state and circumstances of the early Christians, it is to their successors equally profitable, "for doctrine, reproof, and instruction." Its many warnings, promises, and songs of praise; its touching references to the great plan of redeeming love; its beautiful exhibitions of heavenly felicity, have contributed to strengthen the weak in faith, and to revive their languishing hopes. The Christian in the hour of sorrow has turned to its pages, and, though laden with many woes, and threatened with the infliction of fresh calamities, the thought of those who have endured the great tribulation has mitigated his grief—the church driven by the hand of violence from her sanctuaries, and celebrating her hallowed ordinances in dens and caves of the earth, has rejoiced even in such troublous times over Babylon fallen in prospect—and the pilgrim "satisfied" with "long life," and advancing with feeble steps to the grave, has rapturously anticipated the stroke of death, while meditating with the evangelist upon the surpassing glories of the New Jerusalem.

The Apocalypse, thus given to sustain the faith and hope of the church, was, however, at an early period, rejected by some as an authentic book of scripture, and doubted by others. In the catalogue of Cyril, A. D. 340, bishop of Jerusalem; of the bishops at the

council of Laodicea, A. D. 364; of Gregory of Nazianzum, A. D. 375, bishop of Constantinople, it is omitted; and Philastrius, bishop of Brescia, A. D. 380, omits it also in his list, along with the epistle to the Hebrews. Jerome indeed mentions it in his catalogue, A. D. 392, and observes, that the Revelation has as many mysteries as words; and Eusebius, A. D. 315, places the book in the class of writings on whose authenticity the ancients were not unanimous, but these he calls writings acknowledged by most to be genuine. Marcion, a Gnostic of the second century, A. D. 148, was one of the first who rejected the Revelation from the sacred canon, as did afterwards the sect of the Alogi; but the unwarrantable liberties taken by these early heretics with the sacred volume, render their opinions of little moment.⁴

Eusebius places the epistle to the Hebrews, the epistle of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the epistle of Jude, as well as the Apocalypse, in the class of suspected writings; and this circumstance serves to show, the severe scrutiny to which those writings were subject, which claimed an admission into the inspired canon. In an age when spurious productions to which apostolical names were attached abounded, the utmost care was necessary, to guard against intruders violating the sanctity of the temple of divine truth. Besides the Revelation by John, mention is made in ecclesiastical history of the Apocalypses of Peter, Paul, Tho-

⁴ Marcion rejected all the Old Testament; and of the New he only received Luke and ten of Paul's epistles, which he much corrupted.

mas, and Stephen; and the rejection of these proves, how carefully the ancient church tended the fount of inspiration, and jealously preserved its waters from any foreign admixture.

The first formidable impugner of the Apocalypse was Dionysius, A. D. 247, bishop of Alexandria, who seems to have taken a middle course between those who entirely rejected it, and those who regarded it as an apostolic production. In a book concerning the *Promises*, written against Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, he enters at large into the subject, and thus expresses himself: "Some of our ancestors disowned, and wholly rejected this book, confuting every chapter, and demonstrating it to be an unknown and senseless work, and that the title is forged; for they say, it is not John's, neither is it a revelation, because it is covered over with so thick and dark a veil of ignorance; and that not only no apostle, but also no holy or ecclesiastic person could have been the compiler of this work, but that it was Cerinthus."⁵ This opinion was not, however, embraced by Dionysius himself, who admitted the book to be divinely inspired, but attributed its authorship to some other John than the evangelist of that name. The sentiments of this writer had considerable influence upon the Greek fathers of the third and fourth centuries, and many of them have been adopted in modern times by the acute continental critic, J. D. Michaelis. The ancients mention many individuals after the apostolic age, named after the beloved disciple: the Ephesian church had a presby-

⁵ Dion. in Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 25.

ter called John, whose tomb was shown in the city; and to one of these Dionysius attributes the production of the Apocalypse, in preference to the evangelist.⁶ "I suppose," says he, "there were many of the same name with John the apostle, who, through their love to, admiration and zealous emulation of him, and because they were desirous to be beloved of the Lord as he was, had a great love for his name. As we see many children of the faithful called by the name of Paul and Peter. Therefore, I think it was some other John, one of them who lived in Asia; for, it is said, there are two tombs at Ephesus, and both called by the name of John's tomb."⁷

The Alexandrian father, and his German followers, ground their decision upon an alleged discrepancy between the undisputed writings of John, and the Apocalypse, in *doctrinal sentiment—style and manner*—as well as the *obscurity of its contents*.

I. Those who expect to find a formulary of faith, a classified body of divinity, or a regular synopsis of theological sentiment, in the Apocalypse, will be disappointed; for, in a professedly mystical and prophetic book, the introduction of *Christian doctrines* must ob-

⁶ Michaelis indirectly attempts a distinction between John the Divine, or Theologus, and John the Evangelist, as if two individuals of that name were intended. The former title was, however, given to the evangelist, when heresies respecting the Trinity were beginning to be broached; as in his writings the second person is specially distinguished by the title of Theo-logos. The title is frequently applied to him by the ancients. Ephesus is mentioned in the decrees of the council held in that place, as the burial place of John the Theologus.

⁷ Dion. in Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 25.

viously be a matter of incident, rather than design. A historical narrative chronologically arranged, is not looked for in a poetical composition; and a precise developement of matters of faith, is as little to be expected in a figurative representation of the fortunes of the church. But though the design of the Apocalypse was not to assert and illustrate the doctrines of the gospel, there is nothing in its contents but what is in accordance with the analogy of revealed truth. In every incidental notice of the redeeming plan, every direct or indirect allusion to the Christian system, there is a perfect harmony maintained with the other parts of the sacred volume. Nothing is advanced which contradicts the former oracles of God, and no sentiment is expressed which casts the slightest shade upon the credit of any previous announcement. Luther indeed asserted, that "Christ was not taught in it;" but his rashness frequently led him into error: with more truth Michaelis states, that the "true and eternal Godhead of Christ, is certainly not taught so clearly in the Apocalypse, as in St. John's gospel;" but this ought not, for the reason before mentioned, to be a matter of surprise. That a treatise, written expressly to vindicate the divine nature of the Saviour, as the ancients interpreted the gospel by John, should contain a clearer exposition of his divinity, than a mystical representation of Jehovah's plans and councils, was necessarily the case; and had it been the reverse, the credit of the book would have been far more open to suspicion. It is, however, singular, notwithstanding the heavy charge of Luther, and the subtle insinuation of the German professor, that the sect

of the Alogi, as Epiphanius, in his treatise of heresies, informs us, rejected the Apocalypse from the sacred canon, with the gospel of John, on account of its exhibiting the Logos, or eternal Word, in its pages.⁸ In the salutation Michaelis endeavours to prove, that the dignity of the Saviour is lessened, because of his being named after the seven spirits before the throne—seven angels, according to his interpretation: “*Grace be unto you, and peace from him which is, and which was, and which is to come, and from the seven Spirits which are before the throne, and from Jesus Christ.*”⁹ In the order of succession, the Saviour is here placed after the supposed angelic intelligences, a degradation which, it is argued, John, the assertor of his eternal and underived existence, would by no means have allowed. The interpretation is, however, perfectly gratuitous, that the agents spoken of are angels, arch-angels, or any order of finite existences; for it is more accordant with the opinion of the church, and the analogy of faith, to refer them to the Holy Spirit, adopting the comment of Bede, *unum Spiritum, dicit septiformem quæ est perfectio et plenitudo.*¹⁰ It became a

⁸ Epiphanius. Hær. 51.

⁹ Rev. i. 4, 5.

¹⁰ The number *seven* is used frequently in scripture, not to signify a definite, but a large and sufficient quantity: hence, Daubuz states its Hebrew etymology to signify *fulness* and *perfection*; and Philo and Cyprian call it the *completing* number. “The barren hath borne *seven*,” said Hannah in her song, meaning a great number. The victims under the Jewish law, bled by sevens; the golden candlestick had seven branches, bearing seven golden lamps; the mercy-seat was sprinkled seven times with the blood of the atonement; and to sacrifice by sevens, was a characteristic of great so-

Jewish tradition after the captivity, that the throne of God was attended by seven superior ministering angels, derived from the seven ministers who attended the throne of the Persian kings; and in this tradition, the exposition alluded to, though maintained by respectable authorities, doubtless originated. Jonathan ben Uzziel, in his Targum on Gen. xi. 7, tells us; — “God said to the *seven angels* which stand before him,” &c.: and in the book of Tobit, we have another expression of the sentiment; “I am Raphael, one of the *seven holy angels*, which present the prayers of the saints, which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One.”¹¹ The exposition of Michaelis is connected with the difficulty of joining created beings with the Father and the Son, in the dispensation of spiritual blessings; but to the other interpretation there can be no solid objection; and the connexion of the passage required, that, in naming the sacred persons in the Godhead, the usual order of succession should be departed from.

In opposition to the sentiments of Luther, every attentive reader must have noticed the enlarged and lofty representations of the Saviour’s divine and mediatorial glories, which form such splendid episodes among the prophetic symbols of the Apocalypse; and, as a farther proof how futile is the objection, we find, in the instances where our Lord’s divinity is alluded

lemnity in patriarchal times. The key to this rite, says Horsley, is the institution of the sabbath, the observance of the seventh day being the sacrament of the ancient church.

¹¹ Tobit, xii. 15. In *Pirkey Eliezir*, iv. and vii. “The angels who were first created, minister before him without the veil.”

to, St. John's striking mode of treating the subject apparent. His gospel commences with a description of the Saviour as the eternal *Logos*, a title almost peculiar to this inspired writer;¹² and the fact of its occurrence having the same application in the Revelation, is a strong corroborative proof of its production by the same author as the gospel. "And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called the *Word of God*."¹³ Again in the gospel we read, "*the same was in the beginning with God*," and "*in him was life*;" and in the Revelation, "*I am—the beginning and the ending*"—"I am he that liveth"—phrases which obviously bear an intimate resemblance to each other.

II. It is asserted, that the *style and manner* of the Apocalypse are altogether at variance with the evangelist's acknowledged writings.

I. Speaking of the gospels and epistles, Dionysius thus remarks: "For those are not only written most correctly, and agreeable to the purity of the Greek tongue, but they are also composed with great elegance in the words, in the argumentations, and whole contexture of the discourse: so impossible is it for one to find any barbarism or solecism. But I take notice, that his style" (speaking of the writer of the Revelation) "and dialect is not pure Greek; but he

¹² The apostle John is not indeed the only writer, who gives a personal sense to the term *Logos*. In Luke, i. 2, we read, "which, from the beginning, were eye-witnesses, and ministers of the Word:" the expressions, beholding and attending the Word, convey to us plainly the idea of personal existence.

¹³ Rev. xix. 13.

makes use of some barbarous words, yea, and in some places he has solecisms, which it is not now necessary to give a catalogue of. For I would have no one suppose, that I have said these things in the way of derision, but only on this account, that I might explain the dissimilitude of these books."¹⁴ It is pretty plain, that the good father was no critic in Attic Greek, or he would not have exempted the other parts of the New Testament from the heavy censure which he here inflicts upon a solitary portion of it. The language of the sacred writers is not the pure phraseology of Plato and Aristotle, but Greek perpetually mixed with oriental idioms, and abounding with the peculiarities of the Hebrew and Syriac, the vernacular tongues of the country to which they belonged. The same solecisms and harsh constructions which exist in the Apocalypse, may be pointed out in the Septuagint, and the other apostolic writings; and the precision of modern criticism has discovered, that the grammatical anachronisms referred to, convey the meaning of the writer better, than if a more syntactical mode of expression had been employed. Upon the supposition, that John, a native Jew, wrote the Apocalypse in Hebrew, and afterwards translated it, the same Greek as that in which it now exists would be produced. We learn from some of the fathers, that the epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in that language, and translated into Greek by Luke or Clement; and though this may be doubtful, yet the united testimony of antiquity assures us, that the gospel of Matthew was

¹⁴ Dion. in Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 25.

written in Hebrew, or Syro-Chaldaic, and translated during the apostolic age. It is true, that to suppose this to have been the case with reference to the Revelations, is but conjecture; but as the communication made audibly to Saul of Tarsus by the glorified Saviour was in the Hebrew tongue, might not the same language have been employed by the Son of God in his announcements to John, as he both visibly appeared and audibly spake unto him in Patmos?

The principal difference between the Gospel and Apocalypse, consists in the circumstance observed by Jortin, that the latter adopts the copulative style; it is, however, worthy of notice, that in many passages in the gospel, relating to extraordinary scenes, the copulative occurs as frequently in the one as in the other.¹⁵ If then the repeated use of the copulative conjunction, is a characteristic of the evangelist's style, when relating extraordinary events in his gospel, we ought rather to look for it in the Revelations, which are an express record of the supernatural; and the fact of its constant usage there, becomes a proof of its production by John.

2. The simple language of the Gospel, and the figurative character of the Revelations, form another instance adduced of the alleged difference of style. In the one, Michaelis beautifully observes, the writer hurries us away to enchanted ground, and resembles a torrent which carries every thing before it; whereas, in the other all is plainness and gentleness, and is like a clear rivulet which flows without rapidity and violence.¹⁶ The difference here observed, naturally results

¹⁵ Jortin. Discourse on the Christian Religion.

¹⁶ Michaelis. Intro. to New Test. iv. p. 533.

from the dissimilar character of the productions ; the one being a historical narrative, and the other a prophetic disclosure. As a general solution of this disagreement, the following remarks of the present Dean of Lichfield are important, and to the purpose : “ The sentiments, the notions, and images presented in the book, are, in very few passages, those of the *writer*, (such, I mean, as had been formed and digested in, and thus arose out of his own mind), but of that holy Spirit, or of those heavenly inhabitants, who expressed them to him by symbols, or declared them in speech. The pen of St. John merely narrates, and frequently in the very words of the heavenly minister. ‘ That which he sees and hears,’ he writes, as he is commanded to do, but they are not his own ideas from which he writes ; he relates simply, and, with little or no comment, the heavenly visions he had beheld, or the words which he had heard.”¹⁷ The language of one “ who saw the vision of the Almighty—entranced, but having his eyes open,” and heard his voice, must obviously differ from that employed in the absence of such exciting circumstances, when the mind is left tranquilly to digest its subject, and to select its mode of expression ; and the claims of the Apocalypse, to be the product of immediate and visible intercourse with the Divinity, are sanctioned by the discrepancy, which is the subject of animadversion. Its sublimity of language, awfulness of denunciation, and supernatural grandeur of sentiment, establish it to be the production of one

¹⁷ Woodhouse’s Annotations on the Apoc. p. 42.

———"Who from this world retired,
Conversed with angels, and immortal forms,
On gracious errands sent."¹⁸

III. The *obscurity of the book* was strongly urged by the early objectors as a powerful argument against it — that it was to them no revelation. The answer to such an objection is so obvious, that it is strange it should have been so repeatedly advanced; for the very nature of its contents, a prophetic disclosure of transactions extending to the end of time, necessarily renders it obscure. The prophecies of the Old Testament, referring to the events of the latter days, are involved in the same obscurity; and those which have been accomplished, and are now of easy interpretation, were equally as mysterious to the fathers of olden time: and if this circumstance is allowed to strike out the Apocalypse from the pale of revealed truth, it must likewise operate to the mutilation of other parts of the sacred canon. The same premises brought the great Newton to a very different conclusion: "It is the part of this prophecy," says he, "that it should not be understood before the last age of the world; and, therefore, it makes for the credit of the prophecy, that it is not now understood."

The objections which have been noticed, are mostly of a trivial nature, and rest upon no solid foundation:

¹⁸ Lardner and Wetstein give a large collection of passages, where the same forms of expression are used in the Apocalypse, as in the other writings of John; and the coincidences are so striking, as to render it difficult to conceive, that they could occur in writings so different in their character, if they were not the productions of the same author.

they refer exclusively to the internal evidence of the book; for its external evidence is as satisfactory as that of any other production in the inspired canon. It was received by all the earlier fathers as a divine writing, and, for more than a century after its publication, its authenticity was unquestioned by any respectable authority. The rule by which the primitive Christians were guided, in investigating the claims of those writings pretending to be inspired, must be adopted with reference to the Apocalypse — *whether it was received as an authentic book of scripture, by those who living in the time when it first appeared, or immediately subsequent, could so easily ascertain its origin.*

Three of the apostolical fathers, Clement, Barnabas, and Hermas, wrote in the first century, and there is reason to conclude, previous to the publication of the Revelation; which at once accounts for their non-quotation of it.

Ignatius is the first writer, from whom we can expect any information by quotation, or allusion. On his journey to the Roman capital, A. D. 107, he wrote epistles to several churches; and though silent as to the Apocalypse by name, yet Dr. Woodhouse has ingeniously pointed out three passages which contain allusions to it.¹⁹ Writing, however, as Ignatius did, on a fatiguing and rapid journey, surrounded by a band of ferocious persecutors, his allusions to holy writ are necessarily scanty and imperfect; and the total absence of all reference, would have been no argument, as he is also silent respecting fourteen of the epistles, and two of the gospels.

¹⁹ Ignat. ad. Rom. Ignat. ad. Ephes. Ignat. ad. Ephes.

Polycarp was one of the disciples of John, and bishop of Smyrna; but only one practical epistle of his is extant, though many are attributed to him by Irenæus. That the Apocalypse was received by him we may gather from the testimony of Irenæus, who constantly appeals to him for the truth of the affirmations he makes respecting it. In an interesting account of his martyrdom, written by the Smyrnæans, there appears to be an allusion to it, which goes to prove that it was received by them, and if so, doubtless by the bishop who had presided over them. The evangelist describes the feet of the Son of Man, as "like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace," and the Smyrnæan letter represents the body of their suffering martyr in nearly the same language.²⁰

Papias is said by Irenæus to have been a disciple of John, and companion of Polycarp; but only a few fragments of his writings have been preserved, chiefly by Eusebius. In them there is indeed no mention of the Apocalypse; but Andreas, of Cæsarea, places him among those who gave testimony in its favour, which we must suppose he did in his lost books. Some comments upon it are attributed to him by Andreas, which probably formed a part of his *Explication of the Oracles of the Lord*, in five books.

Justin Martyr positively asserts the claims of the Apocalypse to a divine origin, and in his *Dial. cum Tryphone*, expressly mentions John as its writer. Jerome, in his *Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers*, mentions Justin as one of its commentators.

²⁰ Ep. of Smyr.

The *Epistle of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne*, written A. D. 177, appears to give evidence in favour of its authenticity. Dr. Lardner has noticed a passage in it, which, from its peculiarity, is an evident quotation of Rev. xiv. 4: "these are they which follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth." In the Gallic epistle also, the Saviour is described as the "faithful and true witness, the first begotten of the dead;" a mode of representation evidently copied from Rev. i. 5.²¹

Among the lost treatises of Melito, A. D. 170, we find one entitled, *Of the Revelation of John*; and Theophilus, of Antioch, A. D. 181, frequently cited it as of divine authority. Passing by Apollonius and Clemens Alexandrinus, who witnessed in its favour, we find Tertullian quoting a passage from it, as a common saying in his time: "*Quia sacerdotes nos et Deo et Patri fecit.*"²² In opposition to the Marcionites he tells us, that the "succession of bishops, traced to its origin, will establish John to be its author:" *ordo tamen episcoporum, ad originem recensens, in Johannem stabit auctorem.*²³ "John," says he again, "in his Apocalypse is commanded to correct those who eat things sacrificed to idols, and commit fornication."

Irenæus, says Lardner, puts it beyond all doubt, that the Apocalypse is "the work of John, the apostle and evangelist." He quotes from fourteen of its chapters, and some of his citations are of considerable length. He expressly ascribes the book to "*John, the disciple of the Lord; that John who leaned on his Lord's breast*."

²¹ Ep. in Eusebius. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 1.

²² Rev. i. 6. Tertullian de Monag. c. 12.

²³ Tert. adv. Marcion. lib. iv. c. 3.

at the last supper: and being a disciple of Polycarp, and probably born in Smyrna, his testimony is peculiarly valuable.²¹

To this list of witnesses we might add the names of Hippolytus and Origen, and many of the fathers of the third century; but sufficient evidence has been adduced to prove, the right of the Apocalypse to the place it occupies in the inspired volume. A statue of Hippolytus was discovered at Rome, in 1551, on which were engraved the titles of his writings; and among them there is one, named, "*Concerning the Gospel and Revelation according to John.*" But, notwithstanding the decided testimonies of the earlier fathers in its behalf, and the respect they paid to its contents, various circumstances contributed to bring it into disrepute, and not only to subject it to neglect, but to fix upon it the charge of heterodoxy and spuriousness. The Christians, excited to its study, by the promised blessedness to them that *read* and *hear* "the words of the prophecy," were soon disheartened by its insurmountable difficulties; and, forgetful that the vision was yet "for an appointed time," they suffered themselves to be teased and bewildered, by vain endeavours to interpret the image and the number of the beast. The doctrine of the millenium, drawn from its pages by the eastern and western churches, began to be corrupted by mischievous and carnal inventions, and heretical teachers predicted it as an earthly paradise of sensuality and indulgence. These notions naturally alarmed and offended the orthodox, and the popular odium excited by the misinterpretation, was

²¹ Irenæus, lib. iv. 37. 50. 27.

transferred to the Apocalypse, as if it had originated and promoted views of the millenary state, so inimical to the purity of the gospel. The opposite errors of celibacy and bodily penance, were embraced by the crowd of monks and hermits, to whom the third century gave birth; and labouring under the imputation of libertine views, it was not only denied to be a book of scripture, but attributed to the vilest heretics. It was the opinion, which Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, advocated, that the faithful were to spend a thousand years on earth in the enjoyment of bodily pleasures, endeavouring to confirm it by appeals to the Revelation of John, that led Dionysius, in the confutation of so wild a notion, to deny the book the authority of the evangelist's name.²⁵ But other writers, zealous for the

²⁵ Dionysius in this dispute, appears, it must be allowed, in an amiable and commendable light, though the conclusion to which he came must be condemned. After expressing his regard and esteem for Nepos, who was then dead, he observes, "But I judge truth most to be beloved, and to be the most precious of all things. It is our duty to praise, and freely to commend, whatever is truly said; but we are also to examine and correct whatever unsound opinion appears to have been committed to writing." He then goes on to relate, that when in the province of Arsionitæ, where the opinions of Nepos were prevalent, he convened the presbyters and teachers in the villages to a public assembly, to debate the subject. "We took," says he, "special care, never pertinaciously to defend our former opinions, when once they were found to be erroneous: neither did we shun the objections of others; but, to the utmost of our power, we endeavoured to keep close to the points of the present question, and confirm them as well as we could. Neither, if we were convinced, were we ashamed to be persuaded out of our opinion, and consent with others." Well would it be for the cause of truth, if it could always boast such disputants.—Fragments of Dionysius.

honour of scripture, were not so cautious; and, confounding the doctrines of licentious visionaries with the mysterious "words of the prophecy," not only pronounced its excision from the sacred oracles, but gave the supposed disgrace of its authorship to Cerinthus. These prejudices of the fourth and fifth centuries, have been kept alive in modern times, by the abuse of the millennial notion, by a set of turbulent fanatics, who, shortly after the reformation, made it an instrument of faction, and pretended to derive from it a sanction to trample upon the liberties of the community. Inflamed with impetuous zeal, influenced by spiritual pride, and still smarting from the oppressions of the Roman hierarchy, they interpreted the apocalyptic visions, as enouncing a kingdom in which the saints should rule over the worshippers of the beast, and the unregenerate children of the world, and, like Daniel's stone, "smite in pieces and destroy" all existing governments. These wild views probably led Luther and many serious Christians, to regard the sublimest portion of scripture prophecy with suspicion; and the spirit of sedition which in many instances was excited, aggravated by the artifices of Rome on purpose to bring protestantism into contempt, produced the condemnation of the doctrine of the millenium in the Augsberg Confession.²⁶

The time has not yet arrived, when the fulfillment of apocalyptic prophecy, can be advanced as a proof of its divine inspiration; for though instances will be brought, from the history of the seven Asian churches, of the accomplishment of its warnings, yet the events

²⁶ Art. xvii. De Reditu Christi ad judicium.

referred to in its prominent predictions, have probably not yet transpired, so that we cannot avail ourselves of this branch of evidence. That it contains marks of a divine hand in its internal construction, is what no attentive reader can doubt; and that to produce such a forgery was beyond the ability of any Christian of the age in which it appeared, may be safely affirmed.²⁷ The approach of a period when its internal evidence will be considerably strengthened, however still far-distant, is the expectation of every Christian mind. Time, the great expounder of all prophecy, in its continued progression, will gradually remove its obscurity, by unfolding the meaning of its mysterious announcements—explaining the reference of its long train of symbols—and fulfilling every jot and tittle of its dark and mystic sayings. Then, when the vail shall be taken away, its divinity will be as apparent to the church, as it was to the writer prostrate before the overwhelming majesty of the Son of Man; and the hand of God will appear as plainly in its pages, unfolding the doom of papal Babylon, as when of old it was stretched forth, to pen the downfall of its ancient representative, upon the palace-wall of its impious monarch. In the meantime, the humble believer will read with faith, that which is hard to be understood—receive with gratitude that which is clearly made known—and wait with patience until that which is “perfect being come, that which is in part will be done away with.”

²⁷ Le Clerc and the acute Jortin have argued, from the inequality so apparent between the writings of the apostles and the primitive fathers in a literary point of view, that the books of the New Testament could not have been fabricated by them, or indeed in that age.

CHAPTER II.

EXILE OF JOHN.

Rev. xiii. 18. (666.)—*εἰ δὲ εἰδεί αναφανδὸν ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρυττεσθαι τὸ ὄνομα τῆτο, εἰ' ἐκεῖναι ἀν ἐρρεθῇ τὴ καὶ τὴν ἀποκαλύψιν ἐωρακατος. Οὐδε γὰρ προ πολλὰ κρονὺ ἐωραθῇ, ἀλλὰ σκεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας γενεας, πρὸς τὸ τέλος τῆς Δομετιανῆς ἀρχῆς.* — Irenæus, lib. v.

Early persecutions. — John banished. — Fears of Domitian. — The grandsons of Jude. — Tertullian's relation of John's preservation. — Description of Patmos. — Grotto of the Apocalypse. — John in Ephesus. — Relation of Hegesippus.

THERE is no part of the world, with one exception, which has so many varied and spirit-stirring associations, as the islands and provinces of ancient Greece. Almost every valley has its memorials of fame, every hill its tale of marvels, and every ruin-scattered plain, its links connecting it with that splendid epoch, when

Each old poetic mountain
Inspiration breathed around.

Though, like Judea, it cannot boast its "blessed acres," honoured with the footsteps of the Son of God, yet the soil of Greece was early pressed by the feet of that heroic band who testified of him; and the waves

that roll along its coasts, were cut with the barks of apostles, martyrs, and confessors, bearing the genius of Christianity to the embraces of its long civilised, but long idolatrous sons. The student, with his map of Asia Minor, or Magna Græcia, spread before him in his closet, can lay his finger upon places where Paul preached, John wrote, and Apollos "mightily convinced;" and he can call to mind, that, in still more distant ages, in the neighbourhood of those localities, or in the very spots themselves, Herodotus travelled, Homer sung, Apelles painted, and Plato taught; and descending the stream of time to the present, he can picture the minarets of the false prophet glittering in the scenes he recalls—and such associations afford ample matter for an impressive and improving moral. Within a century after Christ, his followers had planted numerous and flourishing churches on the coasts of the "island-gemmed *Ægean*," and the principal epistles now enrolled in the scripture canon, were addressed to those communities, and composed in the cities which are scattered upon the Levantine shores. In one of the Cyclades, the apocalyptic visions were disclosed to John; and this association renders the volcanic and almost tenantless rock of Patmos interesting to the Christian, as the place where inspiration completed the sum of its imposing announcements, and bid farewell to the world which had been cheered for ages with its "still small voice."

The most prominent and peculiar feature of Christianity, as delineated by the author of the Apocalypse, is, that of suffering and persecution; and these char-

acteristics it was to bear, until the era of a general and splendid consummation. The outline of this portraiture had been drawn by the Saviour himself, but the sketch was filled up by the last survivor of the apostolic band, to whom, in mysterious representation, was developed the field of battle, and the various contests of the church, with the spirit of violence and bloodshed. In the conflict, which he beheld in its fierce progress from age to age, through the twilight of the future, he himself had a part; and the pressure of that great tribulation, through which the redeemed saints, who swept in glorious revelation before his gaze, had passed to the throne of God, was experienced by him. "I John," he affectingly writes to the persecuted Asians, "who also am your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, was in the island that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ."²⁸

The first wounds which Christianity received were inflicted by the Jews, and the injuries dealt out by the Lord's murderers were deep and deadly. National pride, inflamed by an expectation of a Messiah's approach with blood-rolled garments; religious prejudice, alarmed for the safety of the Mosaic ritual; pharasaism, boasting its alliance with patriarchs, prophets, kings, and judges; together with a deep-rooted resentment, excited by the boldness of apostles in charging the sanhedrim with sacrilegious murder — combined to render the new faith obnoxious to the

²⁸ Rev. i. 9. Patmos is, properly speaking, one of the Sporades; the islands immediately contiguous to Delos, being the Cyclades.

people and priesthood, and terrible was the blow that exasperated feeling led them to strike. In the first storm that raged, Stephen the deacon, and James of Bethsaida, and James the Just, were struck down; and the fall of these pillars in the infant church, was hailed by worldly wisdom, as significant of the total prostration of the fabric. The disciples, scattered by the explosion of human violence, were followed by its beatings into the countries of their dispersion, and despatches were sent from the high-priest in Jerusalem, to the communities beyond the bounds of Palestine, to further the attack upon the religion of the man of Nazareth. But the last and most cruel expression of Jewish enmity, was the calumny whispered in the ears of the Roman magistracy, that the rising faction were impatient of the imperial yoke, and the secret adherents of a rebel chieftain. This representation at once arrayed the whole power of the empire against the Christians, and the clouds of persecution soon skirted in fearful masses the horizon of the Gentile world, presaging the approach of times of trouble and sorrow.

Other circumstances contributed to rouse the wrath of paganism, and to excite the myriads who worshipped at its altars, to uncompromising hostility. The heathen authorities of the empire, acted upon the liberal principal of admitting the idols of conquered communities into the national polytheistic temple; but Christianity was essentially exclusive and isolated. It advanced to the priest or priestess with no plea of consanguinity; it claimed no protection from the prætor, as akin to the established faith; but abruptly

issued from Judea with the bold assertion, that the "gods of the heathen were vanity and lies," and with the avowed intention of sweeping the existing idolatries from the earth. No superstition was to be tolerated, and no object of the adoration of ages to be spared; every oracle was to be silenced, every grove cut down, and every incense-covered shrine to be laid prostrate: and to each new convert, as he embraced the faith, it became a paramount duty, to join the army of apostles and confessors, in exterminating the ancient religions, and consigning them to infamy, desertion, and shame. It was not to be expected, that this doctrine could be taught with impunity; that a priesthood would be deprived of their means of support without a blow; or that paganism would give up its existence without a struggle: and, hence, at the first inroad of Christianity, the world rose up in arms to check the progress of the intruder. At the same time that pagan Rome liberally received the deities of distant countries into the great family of gods, it severely punished, as a heavy political crime, dissent from the national faith. A subject of Cæsar was privileged to bow his head in whatever temple he pleased; he might worship with impunity the sun at an eastern shrine, or Serapis in an Egyptian sanctuary, as well as the Jupiter Capitolinus of the eternal city; but the moment he denied the popular superstition, he became an enemy to the state, and liable to its most merciless inflictions. Protagoras, as an atheist, with reference to the gods of the Athenians, was banished by the indignant magistracy, and his books publicly burned in Athens as infamous;²⁹ and Cicero

²⁹ Suidas in voce.

gives us the following extract from the ancient laws of Rome : " Let no one have any separate worship, nor hold any new gods ; neither to strange gods, unless they have been publicly adopted, let any private worship be offered."³⁰ Mæcenas, in a conference with Augustus, thus delivers his sentiments respecting a sovereign's duty : " Do thou thyself worship the gods after the manner of the country, and compel others to do so ; but those who bring in strange practices (such as are not sanctioned by the authorities), hate and punish."³¹ These causes contributed to bring down upon the religion of Christ, the proscription of the senate, the sword of secular power, and the denunciations of an infuriated priesthood ; and persecution speedily deluged in a fiery torrent the countries of its early propogation.

The year 54 gave to the imperial throne an avowed lover of cruelty, whose very amusements were characterised with violence and bloodshed ; and under him a legal sanction was first given to the attempt, to extirpate the church. The elements of wrath and vengeance had been long gathering, and, at length, at the instigation of Nero, the explosion burst forth with volcanic fury. Hackneyed in crime, familiar with every form of torture, the murderer of his mother and wife, the emperor exercised his ingenuity in devising pains and penalties for the Christians, under the pretence of avenging the conflagration of his capital. The games of the circus were celebrated in his gardens by night, and the unfortunate victims, covered

³⁰ Cic. de Legibus, c. 2.

³¹ Dion. Cassius, lib. iii.

with wax and combustible materials, and surrounded with blazing faggots, were the torches which illuminated the evening's amusements.³² The stern Romans, accustomed as they were to the gladiatorial show, were shocked by this display of the tyrant's ferocity; and, hence, Tacitus relates, that the public abhorrence of the persecuted, in which the historian participated, was changed into commiseration.³³ The succeeding reigns were comparatively tranquil, until Domitian, the last of the Flavian family, assumed the purple, when the prospects of the church were again darkened, and the acts of Nero but too closely imitated. In the early part of his reign, the imperial leisure was occupied with catching flies, and sticking them through with a bodkin;³⁴ and this appetite for cruelty soon revelled in the slaughter of senators, and in the martyrdom of Christians.

The period of John's banishment to Patmos, is placed by most writers in the reign of Domitian, though the times of Nero and Claudius have been mentioned. The time of Nero is adopted by Sir I. Newton, while Grotius advocates the era of Claudius; but the opinions of both, are founded upon the uncertain testimonies of writers of a late date. It appears, from the title of the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, that the churches of Syria attributed it to the reign of Nero: "*The Revelation which was made by God to John the evangelist, in the island Patmos, into which he was thrown by Nero Cæsar.*" We have,

³² Seneca Ep. 14. Juv. 1 and 8, with his Scholiast.

³³ Tacitus. Annal. 15.

³⁴ Suetonius. vit. Dom.

however, in an early writer, an important and definite statement, which has generally been acknowledged by the church to be conclusive, and which refers the evangelist's exile to Domitian. Irenæus, who had opportunities of obtaining accurate information, in his fifth book against heresies, speaking of the mystical name (666) ascribed to antichrist, observes respecting its difficult interpretation: "But if it had been proper, that this name should be openly proclaimed in this present time, it would have been told even by him who saw the Apocalypse; for it was not seen a long time ago, but almost in our own age, toward the end of Domitian's reign."³⁵ The apocalyptic visions were, then, seen and published towards the close of Domitian's reign; and, as the emperor was assassinated September 18, A.D. 96, the era of John's banishment was probably the year 95. This accords with the testimony of Sulpitius Severus, who remarks, that "during the reign of Domitian (about A.D. 95), John, the apostle and evangelist, was banished to the isle of Patmos, where, after hidden mysteries had been revealed to him, he wrote and published his book of the sacred Apocalypse, which is wickedly and foolishly rejected by many."

The persecution appears to have proceeded from political expediency, the imperial jealousy having

³⁵ Iren. Adver. Hæres. lib. v. It is in vain that Michaelis, to support a favourite theory, asks, "What is it that Irenæus affirms to have been *seen* in Domitian's reign? What does the word *seen* refer to? What is the nominative to the verb *εωραθη*?" No novice, unless under the influence of the strongest prejudice, would refer the verb *εωραθη*, "was seen," to any other nominative than Ἡ Αποκαλύψις, "the Revelation."

been excited by a rumour, that some descendants of the royal line of David, were still alive among the Jews, the secret aspirants for the possession of the empire. The tenure upon which the Cæsars held the throne, was too precarious to preclude the possibility of some daring spirit rising up to contest it with them; assassination had so frequently marked the exit of that ill-fated race from their dangerous honours, as to render the most powerful alarmed at the remotest whisper of conspiracy: and, hence, an edict was issued by Domitian, to discover the reputed descendants of Israel's ancient king, in order effectually to remove them from the tyrant's apprehensions. A similar motive led to a bloody slaughter of the Jews, in the time of Vespasian; the safety of the empire being held to be concerned in the extinction of the lineal descent. "Moreover," says Eusebius, "it is reported, that Vespasian, after the taking of Jerusalem, commanded all those who were of the kindred of David, to be diligently sought out, lest any one of them who were of the royal race, should be left remaining amongst the Jews."³⁶ A persuasion had prevailed, from time immemorial, throughout the empire, and especially in its eastern districts, that a king was to arise, who should possess the mastery of the world; and this idea was sanctioned not only by the sacred books of the Jews, but by the sybilline oracles of the Greeks and Romans; and so general and strong was this belief in the time of the Cæsars, that we find it considerably influencing the conduct of

³⁶ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 12.

the political partisans of the period.³⁷ Julius Cæsar, to secure the title of king, employed as an argument with the senate, a prediction in the books of fate, which declared that the Parthians could not be subdued but by a king, and that by a king only they themselves could be saved;³⁸ Lentulus likewise applied the oracle to himself, as if the expected empire would arrive in him;³⁹ Augustus was commonly affirmed at his conception, to be the long-expected hero;⁴⁰ Virgil declares the same of Marcellus, and has given us an eclogue on the subject;⁴¹ and Tiberius prohibited the reading of the sybilline verses, fearing the handle that turbulent and ambitious spirits might make of them. The edict of Domitian originated doubtless with this ancient and popular belief; and the search for the royally-descended Jews, was adopted as a precautionary measure, to secure the imperial throne from the dreaded ambition of the anticipated deliverer.

The fears of the emperor, and the rumour that occasioned them, were groundless; but some Christians were delivered up to him, owing to the instigation of the Jews, charged with being related to the Jewish royal family. The relation of this circumstance, as given by Hegesippus, has been preserved, and, as the story is curious, it may here be properly quoted. Le Clerc, though generally and justly suspicious of the authority of this writer, is inclined to admit his narra-

³⁷ Tacit. Hist. c. 13. Suet. vit. Vesp. c. 4. Joseph. de bell. vii. 31.

³⁸ Suet. vit. Jul. c. 79. Tull. de div. ii. c. 54.

³⁹ Cic. Or. Cat. iii. Sallust App. de b. civili.

⁴⁰ Suet. vit. Oct. c. 94.

⁴¹ Virg. Æneid. lib. vi. l. 798. Eclog. iv.

tive, on account of the simplicity and candour with which it is related. — “There were yet surviving,” says he, “who were related to our Lord, the nephews of that Jude, who was called the brother⁴² of Christ after the flesh, whom they accused as being descended from David. And these Evocatus brought to Cæsar Domitian. For Domitian was afraid of the coming of Christ, as well as Herod. And he asked them, if they were of the stock of David; and they acknowledged it. Then he questioned them, how great possessions they had, or what quantity of money they were masters of; and they said, that they both had but nine thousand pence, a moiety whereof belonged to each of them: and these they said they had not in ready money, but in land of that value, being only thirty-nine acres; of which also they paid tribute, and themselves were maintained by their own labour. And then they showed their hands, producing, as an evidence of their working, the hardness of their skin, and a brawniness imprinted on their hands by reason of their assiduous labour. Being also asked concerning Christ and his kingdom, of what sort it was, and when and where it would appear; they returned answer, that it was neither worldly nor terrestrial, but celestial and angelical; that it should be at the end of the world, when he would come in glory to judge the quick and dead, and reward every man according to

⁴² Jude in connexion with James, though called, Matt. xiii. 55, the “brethren of Jesus,” were really the cousins of our Lord, it being common with the Jews, to call the first cousins brethren. They were the sons of Mary, the sister of our Lord’s mother, the wife of Cleopas.

his deeds. Upon which answer Domitian condemned them not; but, scorning them as despicable persons, he dismissed them unbound."⁴³ This tale of obscure poverty and indigence, allayed at once the fears of the emperor; and though it exposed the relics of the Saviour's family to the imperial contempt, yet it shielded them from the jealous tyrant's oppression.

The charge of sedition being neutralised, the old hackneyed cry of atheism was raised, and the blood-hounds of slaughter were let loose upon the devoted flock, and some of the noblest families in Rome were among the sufferers. "Domitian having shown much cruelty towards many, and by unjust sentences put to death no small quantity of men of Rome, that were nobly descended and illustrious, and having punished innumerable other most eminent persons undeservedly with banishment and loss of goods, at length rendered himself the successor of Nero, as to his hatred of God and his fighting against him."⁴⁴ The consul Flavius Clemens, the cousin of the emperor, was one of the principal victims who fell, and his wife Domitilla was banished into the island of Pandataria. It is curious to observe the manner in which Suetonius speaks of this individual—"a person, for his aversion to public business, perfectly despicable;"⁴⁵ mistaking a conscientious abstinence from the vicious scenes of the court, for the spirit of slothfulness which he condemns. Had the historian not been a heathen himself, he would perhaps have seen nothing more in the conduct of the

⁴³ Heges. in Euseb. lib. iii. c. 20.

⁴⁴ Euseb. lib. iii. c. 17.

⁴⁵ Suet. vit. Dom. c. 15.

consul, than a practical attention to some of the most important precepts of Christianity, and the deportment which he censures, would have been advanced as a proof of consistent character, and inflexible integrity. The capital at this period contained but few of the hated sect; and, hence, the persecution was not so severely felt there, as in the distant provinces, where powerful and increasing communities existed. The Roman believers had been thinned by Nero, and the disciples in Palestine had been scattered abroad by the inroads of Vespasian; but Asia Minor was still stocked with flourishing and extensive churches, and, there, the whirlwind of pagan vengeance swept with its most desolating fury. John, it is supposed, was now residing at Ephesus—the last surviving member of the Saviour's first company of followers—and the venerable apostle we may conceive, would be soon singled out by the authorities of the city, as a principal supporter of the intrusive religion.

It is related by Tertullian, that when the apostle was first apprehended by the Roman magistracy, he was conveyed to Rome, where he was cast into a caldron of boiling oil, but being miraculously preserved from injury, he was banished by the disappointed emperor. It is farther added, that this peculiar mode of martyrdom was adopted, because Domitian had heard, that the Christians derived their name from Christ, that is, the anointed. These circumstances are mentioned by Tertullian in *de Præscrip.*;⁴⁶ but they are generally looked upon, as the fabulous additions of some ignorant ecclesiastic, anxious to increase the

⁴⁶ Tert. de Præscrip. c. 36.

sanctity of the apostle's name. A late judicious historian of the church, is inclined to consider the doubts that have been started in the present age respecting this fact as unreasonable; and to censure the liberties taken by the moderns with the tales of the fathers, as partaking largely of the spirit of heresy and scepticism.⁴⁷ It must, however, be granted, by the warmest friend of antiquity, that many of the fathers were unwarrantably credulous; that a passion for any thing marvellous, however preposterous, characterised the age in which they lived; and that the habit of defending truth by falsehood, a practice prevalent among the pagan disputants, was unfortunately grafted into the Christian church. Such considerations as these render it necessary, to subject the productions of the primitive writers to the ordeal of close inspection and criticism; to ascertain, whether a fact asserted by one is corroborated by another before we receive it as an authentic relation; and to be careful in admitting into the historical canon a miraculous story, which has only the slight evidence of a witness considerably posterior to substantiate it. The argument against the relation is not grounded on its being connected with a miracle, for there is nothing improbable in the mere fact of a miracle being wrought in behalf of John; but the circumstance of its principal authority being Tertullian, at the close of the second century, and the omission of the narrative by most other respectable writers, are the reasons (conclusive or not it may be difficult to decide) which have led to its being regarded as fabulous. Je-

⁴⁷ Milner's *History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 120.

rome indeed received the relation;⁴⁸ but then he garrisoned the narrative with an embellishment of his own, roundly asserting, that the evangelist came out of the caldron stronger and healthier than he went in, which gives us additional reason to suspect it. The Romish church of course gave it credence, along with the strange events which her monks discovered in after ages to have occurred in the early centuries; and a chapel was built at Rome on the spot where it was supposed to have happened, which subsisted until modern times. We cannot conceive, if the miracle was really performed, how Eusebius came to omit it in his ecclesiastical history, when it would naturally come before him; and it is equally strange, when speaking of the sufferings and deaths of the apostles, in another of his works, that he should only say of John, that he was banished, and sent into an island.⁴⁹ In this instance we are inclined to believe, that Tertullian was imposed upon, as he was on other subjects; for, with all his good qualities, he was credulous even to absurdity. Hence, he believed in the materiality of the soul, because some fanatical sister had told him that she had seen one; and he gravely narrates, on the authority of some insane wanderer from Palestine, that a beautiful city hung suspended in the air over Jerusalem, as an intimation that the millenium was at hand.⁵⁰

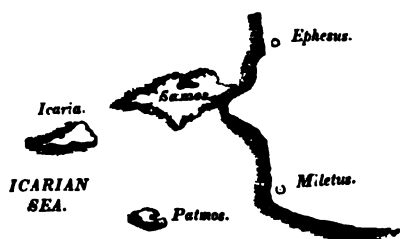
It is pleasing to turn from the uncertain testimonies of men, to the "scripture given by inspiration," and to find the concurrent voice of the ancients sanc-

⁴⁸ Jovin. lib. i. et comm. in Matt. c. xx.

⁴⁹ Euseb. Dem. Evan. lib. iii. p. 116.

⁵⁰ Tert. De Anima. p. 311. Contra Marcion. iii. 24.

tioned in its pages, with reference to the apostle's banishment: "I, John, was in the isle that is called Patmos." Banishment was frequently inflicted by the Romans upon their own citizens, for those crimes which would have been visited with death in aliens: it consisted of two kinds; one of which was called *diminutio capitis*, because the person banished lost the right of a citizen, and the city of Rome thereby lost a head; and the other was termed *disportatio*, the party exiled forfeiting his estate, and being transported into some island specified by the emperor, to be held in perpetual confinement. Of this latter kind was the exile of John; and, added to this, tradition reports his having been compelled to labour in the mines, in the scene of his captivity. We have, however, no information of the apostle's situation in Patmos which can be depended upon; antiquity is almost silent upon this point; but judging from the present deserted and miserable appearance of the island, we must place the beloved disciple, among those who dwelt in "dens and caves of the earth" — "being destitute, afflicted, tormented."



Sailing along the eastern coast of the *Ægean*, about sixteen miles S. W. of Samos, in N. lat. 37°. 24'. and E. long. 26°. 24'. the island of the Apocalypse is point-

ed out to the passing voyager. The Levantine sailors love to gaze upon the cliffs of St. Jean de Patino, to run over their beads at the shrine of the apostle, and invoke the protection and blessing of the Virgin in the consecrated island. Patmos is situated in the Icarian Sea, so called from the antiquated fable of the sun melting the wax-cemented wings of Icarus, on his flight from Crete; and his falling into that part of the *Ægean*. The island has every appearance of being of volcanic origin, and consists of a rugged rock with a sprinkling of soil, and a slight covering of verdure. It is about six leagues in circumference, considerably longer than broad, running in a direction from north to south. The place is now almost destitute of inhabitants, the few that remain are Greek Christians, in a state of extreme poverty, being wretchedly clad and filthy. Their principal subsistence is game and clot-
ted cream; and in the pursuit of the former there is a curious illustration of a custom mentioned in scripture. The birds, principally partridges, with which the island abounds, are chased by the natives on foot, until wearied they are easily caught by the hand: the same practice is referred to by David when pursued by Saul; "As when one doth hunt a partridge in the mountains."⁵¹

Patmos contains a monastery dedicated to St. John, which crowns the summit of a rock, a short distance from its principal harbour. This edifice is said to have been built by the emperor Alexis Comnenes, 1117, to serve as a protection from corsairs, as well as afford an asylum for the brotherhood of the apostle;

⁵¹ 1 Samuel, xxvi. 20.



and, hence, its numerous towers and bastions make it resemble a military fortress more than a monastic structure. The brethren of St. John are under the protection of the bishop of Samos; but their sanctity is not in good repute, on account of the partnership of the holy fathers with the Mainote pirates, when they infested the Levant. The abbot of the convent was anciently the prince of the island, and paid an annual tribute of one thousand crowns to the grand seignior, besides presents to the capidan pasha at his periodical visitations. The literary attainments of the Caloyers, are not more respectable than their saintly character; as, upon the visit of a modern traveller, out of eighty monks only three could be found able to read. Fortunately St. John has been always a favourite with the haughty moslem, and the grand mufti at Constantinople has granted to this monastery the use of a bell, as a mark of respect to the apostle's memory. The poor Greeks of Patmos are by no means insensible of their privilege, as all the other religious establishments

in the east, even that of Mount Athos, are obliged to employ a bar of iron, which is struck with a hammer, to call their members to prayers. So poor and miserable are these recluses, as to have recourse to nefarious practices to obtain a livelihood, and to hail with joy the landing of the traveller at their port, happy in obtaining a donation of nuts, for a sight of their apostolic memorials.²²

Between the convent and the shore a little gothic chapel is pointed out, called the Hermitage of St. John, which the visitor approaches by a rugged pathway. Here tradition recognises the sacred cave where the evangelist usually resided, where he was in the spirit on the Lord's day, and heard the voice of the trumpet, and saw the majesty of the Son of God. It is almost needless to remark, that we have no evidence for this association, but the ignorant conjectures of the

²² "Patmos is nothing but one continued rock, very mountainous, and very barren. The only spot on it which has any cultivation, or is worth any, is a small valley on the west, where the richest inhabitants have a few gardens. Its coast is high, and consists of a collection of capes, which form so many different ports, all excellent. The port, however, in use, is a deep gulf on the north-east of the island, sheltered by high mountains on every side but one, where it is protected by a projecting cape. It is here that the Scala stands, containing about fifty shops and houses; and the inhabitants say, that this was the site of the ancient Christian city, and that in a small valley opposite the Scala, on the other side of the gulf, was the ancient Hellenick city. This opinion, respecting the site of the two ancient cities, is not supported by any remains of antiquity on either spot. The town is situated on a high rocky mountain, rising immediately from the sea. It contains about four hundred houses, and this with the Scala is the whole of the population; for there are no other habitations in the island."—*Turner's Voyage in the Levant*, vol. iii.



early ecclesiastics ; and though the intention was, perhaps, in the first instance, pious, yet the tale was soon employed for the purpose of imposition and emolument. The sale of pieces of rock to devotees, for the cure of diseases, and as amulets against their influence, was in time past a source of considerable revenue to the convent ; and the excavation has been in no slight degree enlarged by the industrious monks, who have left upon the sides of the grot the marks of their chisels. Two chinks in the ceiling of the cave, through which the rain drips from the rock, are absurdly held to have been apertures through which the divine afflatus was communicated to the inspired exile ; and these holes are regarded by the superstitious as peculiarly sacred.

The monastery of the Apocalypse possesses a large collection of books and manuscripts, which have been

examined and described by Dr. Clarke and Professor Carlisle. They consist of MSS. of the gospels, the works of the fathers, and other theological writers, along with some printed books in Latin and Italian; most of which are, however, useless to the priests, being unacquainted with any other language than the modern Greek. One MS. is exhibited in particular to the traveller's notice, το Γρηγόριον τὰ ἅπαντα, the beginning of which is written in red ink, as the monks affirm, by the hand of Alexis Comnenes himself. In the library three bulls are carefully preserved, issued by Pope Gregory XIII., Urban VIII., and the Emperor Charles VI., to protect the island and its monastery from the piratical incursions of the knights of Malta. Learning has not, indeed, been always at such a low ebb in Patmos, as some modern visitors describe, for, in 1770, the school of Daniel, in which grammar was taught systematically, was in considerable repute; but even then, so little knowledge had the islanders of their almost immediate neighbourhood, that when a pupil came from Haivali, the masters were ignorant that such a place existed. The pupil described it as by Moschonesus — the masters consulted Strabo — and finding that island mentioned by him, for it bore the same name then, they became for the first time acquainted with the ill-fated town of Haivali. The young stranger became afterwards a teacher of Greek literature among his countrymen; and in 1818 Mr. Jowett visited him in his native town, and heard him lecture on ecclesiastical history, relating to his class, in discussing the events of the first century, that in a cavern in Patmos, which he

had seen, the Apocalypse was written, qualifying indeed his assertion with a significant "They say."⁵³

Patmos is the "holy land" of the maritime Greeks, associated with the proudest recollections of their religion, and wearing in the ardent imagination of the eastern, on its every cape and cliff, an impress of indelible sanctity. John with the Virgin takes precedence of all the religious names of antiquity in the estimation of the Levantine islanders; and it is remarkable, how closely their names and memories are associated in their traditional tales; the poor ignorant Caloyer dreaming of a no higher grade of religion, than that of venerating the apostle, and extolling the virtues of the "mother of God." The belief of the ancient church, that the mother of the Lord, after his crucifixion, resided with the disciple he most loved, probably originated this connexion of their memories. When sailing by the scene of his banishment, the Greeks often land to visit the shrine of the apostle, to run over their prayers; and this devotional process, performed in the name of the Virgin, is accounted remarkably efficacious. *Μὲ τὴν χάριν τῆς Παναγίας*, "with the favour of the Virgin"—*μέ τὴν χάριν τῆς Παναγίας*, "thanks to the holy Virgin," are common forms of speech; and many of the modern Greek ballads contain numerous examples of this devotion:

"Row on, with thy breast as a rudder to guide thee,
Nor yield till the strand and its rocks are beside thee;
And if God and the Virgin shall smile and befriend thee."

Farewell of the Kleft.

⁵³ Jowett's Christian Researches, p. 63.

Dr. Clarke saw the island from his vessel, when the *Ægean* was lighted up with the beams of the setting sun; and he introduces, to illustrate the scene, the splendid picture described by the evangelist, when wrapped in ecstatic vision, he saw, as it were, a “sea of glass mingled with fire.” The towering cliffs of Patmos—the battlements of the monastery of the Apocalypse—and the whole island consecrated by the footsteps of God’s last prophet—seemed to be floating in an abyss of fire; and the traveller instinctively connected the face of nature, with the golden glories of the New Jerusalem, and the announcements of that trumpet voice which proclaimed, that there shall be no NIGHT there.⁵⁴

Recurring to the sacred history, we find the exile of the evangelist interrupted by an illustrious visitant; and the scene which lighted up the solitudes of Patmos with heavenly glories, is thus described by the overawed spectator of the vision:

“I was in the Spirit on the Lord’s day, and heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet.”

It was the Christian sabbath, the anniversary of the Saviour’s resurrection.

“Saying, I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last: and what thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia: unto Ephesus, and unto Smyrna, and unto Thyatira, and unto Sardis, and unto Philadelphia, and unto Laodicea.

And I turned to see the voice that spake with me, and being turned I saw seven golden candlesticks;

⁵⁴ See Clarke, Tournefort, Turner, Sonnini, &c.

And in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, one like unto the Son of Man, clothed in a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle.

*His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow.”*⁵⁵

The recognition of the Redeemer by the evangelist upon this occasion, is in beautiful accordance with those passages, which express the intimacy which subsisted between him and his Lord, while on earth; for John appears to have been most honoured with the confidence of his master, and to have maintained intercourse with him of the closest and most endearing character. “And we beheld,” says he, “his glory:” this is the language of personal acquaintance, peculiarly appropriate from the lips of one who had witnessed on the holy mountain, the wondrous clothing of his humanity with the brightness of divinity; and who had the most certain evidence that eye and ear can have, that the glory of the only-begotten of the Father was then exhibited. The commencement of the first epistle of John—“That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the Word of life”⁵⁶—expressly intimates, that the writer had been furnished with the most ample opportunities of investigating the truths he recorded respecting him; that he had

⁵⁵ Rev. i. 10—14. In Homer we have a similar description :

“The ambrosial locks of the immortal sovereign’s head
Were shaken : and he made great heaven itself quake.”

Iliad, i. 529.

⁵⁶ 1 Ep. John, i. 1.

accompanied him not only in the public exercises of his ministry, but in his private retirements, when he withdrew to the fig-tree or to the mountain, to celebrate the morning or evening's devotion ; and that the lofty series of marvels which he was about to narrate, were events of which he had been an immediate spectator. The expression $\delta \epsilon \theta \epsilon \alpha \sigma \alpha \mu \epsilon \theta \alpha$, *which we have looked upon*, has indeed a stronger meaning than $\delta \epsilon \omega \rho \alpha \kappa \alpha \mu \epsilon \nu$, *which we have seen* ; and intimates an act of contemplation, the evangelist's considering at leisure the truths he is relating. It is in striking accordance with these representations, that we find him in the relation of his vision saying, "I saw — one like unto the Son of Man." That familiar converse with his Lord, with which he had been favoured in Judea, had indelibly impressed upon his mind the features of the outward man, and not only the lineaments of his ordinary humanity, but of his spiritualised and glorious body ; and, hence, when the supernatural visiter broke in upon his exile, in one of the far-off islands of Greece, he immediately recognised amid an investiture of heavenly brightness the form and likeness of the Son of Man.

The persecution of Domitian terminated at his death, and the apostle is then supposed to have immediately returned to Ephesus. The duration of his exile has been variously stated : the author of the *Chronicon Paschale* makes it fifteen years, and Irenæus five, but the period was probably much less. During his residence at Ephesus, the apocalyptic records, written down in Patmos, were given to the church, and the Ephesian Christians came under the immediate su-

A RELATION CONCERNING JOHN THE APOSTLE,

From a discourse of Clemens Alexandrinus, entitled, Quis dives salvetur? Who is the rich man that may be saved? c. 42.⁵⁹

“Hear a relation which is not a feigned story, but a real truth, delivered concerning John the apostle, and kept in remembrance. For after the death of the tyrant he returned from the island Patmos to Ephesus, and being thereto requested, he went to the neighbouring provinces, in some places constituting bishops, in others setting in order whole churches, and in others electing into the clergy some one or other of those who were made known to him by the Spirit. Coming, therefore, to one of the cities not far distant, the name whereof some mention it;⁶⁰ and moreover having refreshed the brethren; at length casting his eyes upon a youth of a goodly stature, comely countenance, and lively disposition, he looked upon him whom he had ordained bishop, and said, ‘This youth I do, with all imaginable care, commit to thy charge, in the presence of the church, and of Christ as a witness.’ And when he had undertaken this charge, and promised his utmost care thereof, John declared and desired the same again, and afterwards returned to Ephesus. The presbyter taking home the youth committed to his custody, educated him, and kept him within compass, and cherished him, and at length baptised him; but after that he abated something

⁵⁹ Clement undertakes to prove the following points. 1. *That the hope of obtaining salvation is not cut off from the rich.* 2. *That riches honestly acquired may become useful means in obtaining it.* Twenty-six chapters are devoted to the first proposition, and sixteen to the last.

⁶⁰ This city is supposed to be Smyrna by the author of the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*.

of his great care and caution over him, because he had fortified him with that most absolute defence, the *seal* of the Lord.⁶¹

“Having obtained his freedom a little too early, some idle dissolute young men, that were inured to all manner of vice, keep him company. And first of all, they entice him with sumptuous banquets; then going out by night to rob and strip those they could meet with, they carry him along with them; afterwards they desire him to be their accomplice in greater wickedness: so by little and little he was accustomed to lewdness, and because he was high-spirited, having once left the right way (like a strong hard-mouthed horse holding the bit between his teeth), he was so much the more fiercely hurried into destruction. In fine, despairing of the salvation of God, he spent not his thoughts now upon any trifling design, but attempted some enormous wickedness; and, inasmuch as he was wholly past all hope, he scorned to run the hazard of so mean a punishment as others did. Taking, therefore, his accomplices, and having formed them into a troop of robbers, he was readily made their commander, being the fiercest, the most bloody, and cruel of them all.

“Some time after, there being some necessity for it, they send again to John, who, after he had set in order those things upon account whereof he came, said to the bishop, ‘Restore us that which was committed to thy custody, which I and Christ delivered to thee to take care of, in the presence of the church as witness over whom thou dost preside.’ But

⁶¹ Baptism was designated by the primitive Christians by various names; and Gregory Nazianzum mentions it as a *seal*, because, as he states, it is a preservation, or sign of security: *Orat.* 40. Many ceremonies are mentioned by ecclesiastical writers, connected with the rite in the early ages; such as giving milk and honey to the baptised in the east, and wine and milk in the west. The sign of the cross, which began to be used in the fourth century, is described by Lactantius, as an impregnable fortress to defend those impressed with it; and he further adds, that such the devil cannot approach.

he at first was astonished, supposing himself to be falsely accused about money which he had not received; neither could he give credit to John concerning his demand of what he had not, nor yet durst he disbelieve him. But when John had said, 'I demand the young man, and the soul of our brother,' the old man, fetching a deep sigh, and also weeping, said, 'He is dead.' 'How? and what kind of death?' 'To God,' said he, 'he is dead; for he proved wicked, and extremely naught, and in conclusion a thief. And now, instead of continuing in the church, he hath taken possession of a mountain with a troop of associates like himself.' The apostle, therefore, having rent his garment, and with a great outcry smiting his head, 'I left,' said he, 'an excellent keeper of our brother's soul! but let a horse be presently brought me, and let me have a guide to direct me in the way.' He rode (as he was) forthwith from the church; and coming to the place, is taken by the watch which the thieves had set; he flies not, nor makes entreaty, but calls out, 'For this purpose I came, bring me to your captain.' He in the meantime, armed as he was, stood still; but as he knew John approaching, being ashamed he fled: but he, forgetful of his age, with all possible speed pursued him, crying out, 'Son, why dost thou flee from thy father, unarmed and aged? Have compassion on me, my son; fear not, as yet there is hope of thy salvation. I will intercede with Christ for thee. If need require I will willingly undergo death for thee, as the Lord underwent it for us. I will by way of recompense give my soul for thine; stand still; believe me, Christ hath sent me.' He having heard this, first stood, looking downward; then he threw away his armour; afterwards trembling, he wept bitterly, and embraced the approaching old man, craving pardon as well as he could for weeping, and being, as it were, baptised the second time with tears; only he hid his right hand. The apostle promising him, and solemnly swearing, that he had obtained remission for him of our Saviour, praying, kneeling, and kissing the young man's right hand, as being now

cleansed by repentance, brought him into the church again. And partly by abundant prayers making supplication for him, partly with continual fastings striving together with him, and also comforting his mind with divers sentences out of holy scripture, he departed not, as they say, until he had restored him to the church; having hereby shown a great example of true repentance, an illustrious instance of regeneration, and a trophy of a conspicuous resurrection."

This story is cited by Eusebius, as he tells us, "on account of the profit it may yield his readers;" and he immediately goes on to declare the unquestioned writings of the apostle, without appending any comment upon the truth or falsity of the relation. Clement introduces it in a remarkable manner; *ακουσον μυθον, ου μυθον, αλλ' οντα λογον*, "*hear a fable, or rather not a fable, but a true history:*" this excites some suspicion, that the original relater was hardly satisfied of the correctness of his tale. Milner decidedly inclines in favour of its reception, though he makes no extract; and indeed no stronger arguments can be advanced against it, than the ambiguous statement of Clemens, and the pious frauds which characterised the time of its appearance. Perhaps the safest conclusion to which in such circumstances we can come, is to admit the outline of the story to be real, and to reject the filling-up as fictitious.

Among the other actions attributed to John by ancient writers, it is related, that he deposed a priest in Asia, for composing the fabulous voyages of Paul and Thecla. This work was written by a presbyter, in honour of the apostle; but being convicted of the forgery, he acknowledged it, and was deprived of his

office.⁶² Ephesus continued to be the scene of John's residence until the time of his death, which took place when upwards of one hundred years old, in the reign of Trajan. "*And all the elders,*" says Irenæus, "*were conversant in Asia with John, the disciple of the Lord, do testify, that John delivered it*" (the Apocalypse) "*to them, for he continued among them until Trajan's time;*" and again he observes, "*More than the church at Ephesus was founded indeed by Paul, John, continuing among them until Trajan's time, was the most faithful witness of the apostolic tradition.*"⁶³ In a letter addressed by Polycrates of Ephesus to Victor of Rome, the death of the apostle is mentioned in the following singular manner: "*And moreover, John, who leaned on the Lord's breast, and was a priest, wearing a plate of gold, and was a martyr and a doctor, this John, I say, died at Ephesus.*"⁶⁴ That the apostle was a martyr, a doctor or evangelist, and a priest in the sense in which all believers are so designated, may be admitted; but that he assumed any such badge as the one here mentioned, may be safely regarded as a fraudulent invention of some ignorant zealot. The ornament was peculiar to the Jewish high-priest, and he wore upon the front of his mitre, a plate or leaf of gold; and the word *πετάλον*, employed by Polycrates is the same as the Septuagint uses in rendering Hebrew *tsits*.⁶⁵ Other writers assign this distinctive

⁶² Jerom. de Viris illustr. in Paulo. This book still remains in Greek and Latin, and was published by Dr. Grabe in his Spicium, vol. i. p. 94.

⁶³ Iren. lib. ii. and iii.

⁶⁴ See the whole of this letter in Chapter III.

⁶⁵ Exod. xxviii. 36, 37. "*And thou shalt make a plate of*

to James of Jerusalem, and to Mark;⁶⁶ but to suppose them actuated by such a vain-glorious spirit, as the assumption of the appendage intimates, is quite inconsistent with their humble and unobtrusive character. We have a sufficient reason for the invention of the story, in that false veneration paid to the memory of the apostles, which led to the propagation of the wildest tales in their honour; and perhaps an apology was needed by the ecclesiastics, for that love of display and show, with which they began at an early period to be infected.

The evangelist is usually painted with a cup in one hand, and a serpent issuing from it, a mode of representation derived from the relation of the spurious Prochorus, that when some poison was presented to him by some heretics in a cup, he dispelled the venom under the form of a serpent, by making the sign of the cross over it.⁶⁷ The tomb of John was the pride and boast of Ephesus, when become a Christian city. In the acts of the council assembled there, respecting the Nestorian controversy, it is often mentioned as the place of his burial; and Celestine exhorted the fathers to follow his instructions, whose remains they had in their keeping. A singular conceit was believed by many of the fathers, that the evangelist was only asleep in his grave; and, hence, St. Augustine relates,

gold, and grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet, Holiness to the Lord. And thou shalt put it on a blue lace, that it may be upon the mitre." — *Maimon. de Apparatu Templi.* cap. ix. p. 147.

⁶⁶ Epipha. in Hæres. MS. relating to Mark.

⁶⁷ Prochorus was one of the seven deacons mentioned Acts, vi. 5, and, according to the Greeks, the first bishop of Nicodemia. There is a history of John under his name, but the production is modern.

upon the testimony, as he tells us, of credible persons, that the earth under which he lay, was seen to heave up and down perpetually, in conformity to the motion of his body in the act of breathing.⁶⁸ This wild fiction was grounded upon the Saviour's language to an inquisitive follower — "*If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?*" The other disciples inferred from this statement, that John was not to die; and, therefore, the inspired historian thought it needful to add, to correct the notion, "*Jesus said not unto him, He shall not die; but if I will that he tarry till I come.*"⁶⁹ Notwithstanding this explanatory remark, the error was revived in the fourth century, and eagerly propagated by the superstitious who then filled the church; and so late as the time of Beza, an impostor was burnt at Tholouse, who pretended to be the immortalised disciple.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ August. Oper. tom. iii. p. 819, 820. Other particulars equally as marvellous are told by Nicephorus in Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 42.

⁶⁹ John, xxi. 22, 23.

⁷⁰ Beza. Annot. in John, c. 21. The monkish writers invented another miracle respecting John, viz. that his grave emitted a sacred unguent or fragrant oil, sufficiently efficacious to cure the most virulent diseases. Similar tales are, however, told of most of the saints in the Roman calendar, as well as of dutiful laymen. "And touching the place of his burial," says the Life of Bishop Fisher, "in Barking church-yard, it was well observed at that time, by divers worthy persons of the nations of Italy, Spain, and France, that were then abiding in these realms, and more diligently noted and wrote the course of things, and with less fear and suspicion than any of the king's subjects might, or durst do, that for the space of seven years after his burial, there grew neither leaf nor grass upon his grave, but the earth still remained as bare as though it had been continually occupied and trodden." — *London*, 1655, 12mo. p. 212.

In the character of John, as delineated in his writings, and in the scanty notices of ecclesiastical antiquity, the stronger and the more tender elements of human nature, seem to have been harmoniously blended; and the softness of love, and the melting tenderness of pity, to have been united to a courage and constancy of no ordinary kind. The sons of Zebedee, James and John, were called by the Saviour, *Boanerges, sons of thunder*. This title was not given as indicative of their natural temperament, for that appears to have been mild and placid; or as descriptive of their ministry, for that was persuasive and inviting: but denoting the striking changes which were produced by their firm and undaunted testimony, which rendered them, like the ancient Scipios,

——— “Duo fulmina belli.”⁷¹

——— Two thunderbolts of war.

There is an amiable and heavenly mildness pervading the epistles of John, which seems to intimate, not

In the Life of Sir Thomas Cantilupe, printed at Ghent in 1674, the Jesuit who wrote it tells us, that his body, when his soul first left it, emitted a heavenly fragrance that filled the whole room. p. 202.

Archbishop Elphege's case is still more marvellous. Eleven years after his death, “The king and the archbishop advance with astonishment, and looking in with weeping eyes, they behold the late temple of the holy spirit, lying all incorrupt, without one mark of putrefaction in the whole body.”—*Wharton's Angl. Sacr.* tom. ii. p. 145.

The remains of St. Dunstan, are described by archbishop Warham, who searched into his grave five hundred years after his decease, as smelling most sweetly; “*quæ revera omnia odore redolabant suavissimo.*”

⁷¹ *Æneid.* lib. vi. lin. 842.

unfrequently, that the writer's natural disposition, renewed and chastened by divine grace, is there portrayed. The most prominent feature of the divine character in his representations is Love; his reproofs are directed to a temper which is opposed to it; his precepts inculcate its manifestation between man and man; and this heavenly virtue he endeavoured to cherish in the Ephesian church, when the infirmities of hoary hairs prevented him from saying more than, *Children, love one another*. He leaned upon his Lord's breast at the last supper, a token of regard which intimated, that he was highly prized by the great Searcher of hearts—he received in charge, from his dying master upon the cross, the virgin mother, an affecting eulogy upon his steady attachments and filial tenderness—he was called the “disciple” whom Jesus “loved,” implying a sympathy of feeling, and correspondence of character between them—and he was reserved to witness, though in an hour of persecution, the apocalyptic visions, as one whom suffering would make “perfect” for the glories of the new and bride-like Jerusalem.

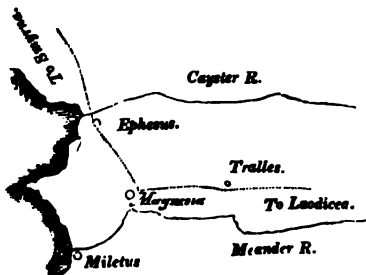
CHAPTER III.

EPHESUS.

Μεγάλη ἡ Ἀρτεμις Ἐφεσίων. Acts, xix. 28.

PAGAN EPHESUS. *Androclus. — Diana. — Temple. —* CHRISTIAN EPHESUS. *Paul. — Curious Arts. — Timothy. — John. — Onesimus. — Ignatius. — Justin Martyr. — Polycrates. — Seven Sleepers. — Councils. —* FALLEN EPHESUS. *Corruption of Christianity. — Inroads of the Turks. — Visits of Modern Travellers.*

EPHESUS, anciently one of the most celebrated cities of Anatolia, the metropolis of the proconsular Asia, is first mentioned by the evangelist in his address to the churches. The city was situated near the point where the Cayster terminates its meanderings, and enters the gulf of Scala Nova, in long. 27°. E. lat. 30°. N. about thirty-five miles south of Smyrna.



The plain on which Ephesus stood, is skirted on the west by the sea, on the north and east by the magnificent heights of Gallesus, Pactyas, and Messogies, and is still represented, after ages of war and barbarism, as rich in verdure and extremely fertile. In speaking thus of Ephesus we are obliged to use the past tense; for nothing now remains of what was once the "glory of kingdoms," but the Mahommedan village of Aisalúk.

PAGAN EPHESUS.

The origin of Ephesus, is involved in the mists of remote antiquity, and cannot be defined with any degree of certainty. The ancient writers, upon whose testimony we must depend, delighting in the marvellous, have mixed the small portion of truth they have retained, with the wildest and most extravagant fictions. By Justin and Pliny its origin is ascribed to the Amazons, who figure so veraciously in the pages of the early annalists; and Heraclitus derives its name from a Greek word signifying *permission*, because, having landed to sacrifice to Diana on their way to Attica, they were permitted by their tutular divinity to live there, and build a city. It is certain, that the worship of the goddess was established in the barbaric ages, in the place where her splendid temple was afterwards built; and long before the renowned city of subsequent times appeared, a number of settlers was gathered around the shrine of the local deity. The shores of Asia Minor, upon which Ephesus was situated, were originally inhabited by Phœnician colonies, who first appear

upon the page of history, under the distinctive title of Carians or Leleges, a wandering people consisting of many tribes, mentioned by Homer among the Trojan warriors :

“Alta, whose rule the Leleges obey.”⁷²

The first event that occurs, after we leave the regions of fable, is the conquest of the native tribes by the Ionians, and their incorporation with the migratory Grecian colony. Under Androclus, the son of Codrus, the last and beloved king of Athens, previous to the era of the perpetual archons, the Ionians are said to have left their native Attica, and to have established themselves on the opposite coast of the Ægean, the shores of the Lesser Asia. This was the foundation of the Ionian state in Asia, B. C. which soon emerging from obscurity, be- 1070. came distinguished for art and science and letters, commanding the admiration of remote posterity by its architectural genius, the sweetness of its dialect, and the splendour of its literature. From these emigrants sprung Homer and Hesiod, Alcæus and Sappho, Thales and Herodotus ; the seas of the Euxine and Ægean were covered with their fleets, and their shores studded with wealthy cities ; and had not narrow views of constitutional government damped their energies and divided their resources, a powerful and independent monarchy would have resulted from the colonization of Asia by the Greeks.

To Androclus and his companions the foundation

⁷² Iliad, lib. xxi. v. 86.

of Ephesus is generally attributed; and in common with the other famed cities of antiquity, its origin is connected with the interference of the presiding divinity. Debating where to fix their abode, an oracle was consulted, which returned the following oracular answer: "A fish should show them, and a wild hog conduct them." Some fishermen happened, while engaged in cooking, to set fire to a thicket, which roused a wild hog from his lair; and the animal being killed on the Tracheia, a part of the mountain range of Corissus, the accident was interpreted as fulfilling the oracle, and determining the site of the city.⁷³ The Ionian state was governed for some time by Androclus and his descendants, who assumed the royal title;⁷⁴ afterwards the celebrated confederacy of twelve states was formed, so often mentioned by the ancients. At the foot of mount Mycale, to the south of Ephesus, deputies from the states were accustomed to meet, to celebrate solemn festivals, consult for their mutual safety and prosperity, and offer sacrifice for the good of the whole community. Here a sacred edifice was erected, called by the ancients Panionium.⁷⁵ "*Pani-*

⁷³ Athenæus. lib. viii. p. 361. A medallion of the emperor Maximian, struck by the Ephesians, has, on the reverse, a plain allusion to this story.

⁷⁴ Androclus fell in battle with the Carians: his monument, bearing a man armed, was shown by the Ephesians in the time of Pausanias, between the temple of Diana and the Magnesian Gate. — *Museum Florentinum*. vol. 4. pl. lxi.

⁷⁵ The word Panionium, the Greeks supposed to be derived from the circumstance of *all the Ionians* assembling there; but Sir W. Drummond ingeniously conjectures, that the promontory Mycale, on which it was situated, was originally called *pan* or *pen*, a general

onium," says Herodotus, "is a sacred place on Mycale, situate towards the north, which, by the universal consent of the Ionians, is consecrated to the Heliconian Neptune. Mycale is a promontory projecting itself towards Samos. On this mountain the Ionians assemble from their different cities, to celebrate the Panionia."⁷⁶ A bull was usually offered in sacrifice to Neptune, and if he bellowed during the performance of the rite, it was accounted an auspicious omen, as such a sound, resembling the roaring of the sea, was held to be particularly acceptable to the ocean-king.⁷⁷ The Panionium in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, was probably the prototype of the council-place of Milton's infernals:

name for a headland in most languages—whence the title of the place referred to. It is worthy of remark, as an almost invariable rule, that where we find the names of places, beginning with or compounded of *pen*, *phen*, *pan*, *phan*, *pin* and *ben*, a headland or mountain is indicated. Speaking of the source of the Jordan, Josephus remarks, "the place is called Πάνιον, Panion, where a certain mountainous summit is uplifted to an immense height." Pliny speaks of a Thracian mountain called *Pangæus*, where Cadmus found gold. Ptolemy speaks of a promontory in Chios called *Phanaia*. In Arabic *phand* signifies a mountain. The word *pen* or *pan*, or, with a slight change, *ben*, has prevailed throughout Europe, indicating a mountain range; as, the *Alpes Penninæ*, the *Appenines*, and the Scottish highlands, so commonly distinguished by the appellation *ben*.—*Origines*, vol. iii. p. 113.

⁷⁶ Herod. lib. i. c. 142.

⁷⁷ A medallion of the emperor Gallus, struck by the inhabitants of Colophon, represents this scene on the reverse. Thirteen deputies are seen, each with his right hand uplifted, standing round an altar, with fire, and a bull before the image and temple. *Museum C. Albani*. vol. ii. pl. 80.—the deity is there supposed to be Apollo Clarius.

"A solemn council, forthwith to be held
At *Pandemonium*, the high capital
Of Satan and his peers."

The Christian village of Changlee now occupies the site of the meeting-place of the Ionic confederates.

In process of time Ephesus became subject to a succession of tyrants, commencing with Pythagoras, who, like Pisistratus in Athens, destroyed the liberties of the people, and filled the city with blood and rapine. The Lydian power, enriched by the gold sifted from the waters of the Pactolus, was at this period becoming formidable; and Pindarus, the second

B. C. Ephesian tyrant, was besieged in the city
560. by the hosts of Cræsus. The Ionians now,
for the first time, lost their independence,

and became tributary to one whom the proud Greeks regarded as a barbarian prince. During the siege, the Ephesians are said to have consecrated their city to Minerva, attaching it by a ligature to her temple, which was at the distance of seven stadia, nearly a mile, from it. The ancients were accustomed thus to consecrate their cities to the gods, especially in time of war, to secure their presence and protection, believing, that when a city was about to be taken by an enemy, the deities abandoned it. By Cræsus the Ephesians were delivered from the tyranny of Pindarus, and, together with all Ionia, were brought into subjection to the Lydian monarch, who greatly enriched the temple of Diana, which was then building.

"*Ye men of Ephesus, what man is there that knoweth not, how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the great goddess Diana, and of the image that fell*

*down from Jupiter?*⁷⁸ Such was the language of the town-clerk of the city, above five centuries after the time of Cræsus—language which an inscription copied by Chandler from its ruins curiously illustrates:—

*Decree on a slab of white marble found near the aqueduct
at Aisalik.*

“TO THE EPHESIAN DIANA.

“Inasmuch as it is notorious, that not only among the Ephesians, but also every where among the Greek nations, temples are consecrated to her, and sacred portions; and that she is set up, and has an altar dedicated to her, on account of her plain manifestations of herself: and that, besides, the greatest token of veneration paid her, a month is called after her name; by us Artemision, by the Macedonians and other Greek nations, and in their cities, Artemisiæon; in which general assemblies and hieromenia are celebrated, but not in the holy city, the nurse of its own, the Ephesian goddess: the people of Ephesus deeming it proper, that the whole month called by her name be sacred, and set apart to the goddess, have determined by this decree, that the observation of it by them be altered. Therefore, it is enacted, that in the whole month Artemision the days be holy, and that nothing be attended to on them, but the yearly feastings, and the Artemisiac panegyris, and the hieromenia; the entire month being sacred to the goddess: for, from this improvement in her worship, our city shall receive additional lustre, and be permanent in its prosperity for ever.”⁷⁹

The name of the person who obtained this decree is not mentioned, but his kinsman who provided the

⁷⁸ Acts, xix. 35.

⁷⁹ Original in Inscriptiones Antiquæ.—Oxford. 1774. fol.

monument is called Lucius Phœnius Faustus, from which it is probable he was a Roman.

In the speech of the recorder of Ephesus, which we have cited, he designates the city a *worshipper* of the great goddess, a word which very feebly expresses the force of the original *Neukopon*, the meaning of which the inscription better conveys, by representing the city as the *nurse* of her own divinity. *NEOKOPON* originally signified a sweeper of the temple, answering to the Roman *ædituus*, and our *sexton*; afterwards the care of the structure was given to the person, as the *superintendant* of the sacra, answering to our *churchwarden*; and at last the Neocorate was sustained only by individuals of consequence, who presided over the sacrifices offered for the emperor's life. So honourable was this office deemed, that cities frequently took the appellation, as the following medal shows to have been the case with reference to Ephesus.⁸⁰



⁸⁰ Philip Rubenius. *Diatribæ de Urbibus Neocoris*. in Grævius's *Thesaurus Antiquitatem Romanarum*. tom. xi. p. p. 1360—1365.

This medal exhibits the *pronaos* or front of the temple of Diana—in the middle is an image of the goddess clothed—at the bottom is the motto, “Of Ephesus”—and around it the title “Neokoron,” and another word respecting which antiquaries are not agreed. The assumption then of the title mentioned in the address of the recorder, intimates that the city was not only a worshipper of the goddess, but the special guardian of her shrine, and consequently favoured with the immediate and peculiar protection of the heavenly power.⁸¹

The religions of the ancient Greeks, though forming collectively one vast polytheistic system, were exceedingly numerous, and dissimilar in their character. Greece and Asia Minor seem to have been parcelled out among a number of deities, each of whom was the paternal god of some city or race, having not only separate rites, but a form of worship widely different. Each deity had his favourite abode, and local attachments; to some valley, or grove, or town, the power and presence of the divinity especially belonged: and hence in Bæotian Thrace, we trace the orgies of Bacchus; in northern Thessaly, the worship of Apollo; on the Corinthian shores, the rites of Neptune; in Argos, the temples of Juno; and in Ephesus, the worship of Diana. Though acknowledged to be divine out of their own peculiar domains, yet their worshippers were rather averse to proselytism, fearing lest, by an extended communication, the local influ-

⁸¹ Josephus tells his countrymen, that God delivered their fathers *ἐαυτῷ* ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥΣ, “to take care of his temple.” — De Bel. lib. v. cap. 9.

ence of the deity should be weakened, and his predilection for them transferred to others. The residence of some fabled divinity, responding by the oracle to a crowd of superstitious votaries, was regarded as a valuable religious monopoly, which it became the favoured community, as a matter of policy, to keep as much as possible to themselves; hence, Ajax in Homer advises the Greeks to pray apart and in silence, lest the Trojans should overhear them, and be able, by imitating them, to pray with equal effect. This peculiarity in the ancient mythology, accounts for the local and almost exclusive worship of the great goddess in Ephesus.

The image of Diana, according to vulgar belief, had originally fallen from heaven; and to this tradition the town-clerk referred in his address to the infuriated inhabitants, on the arrival of Paul. Some have supposed from this circumstance, that the image was an *aërolite*, or atmospheric stone; but such marks of condescension from the superior powers, were common among the pagans. The notion was zealously propagated by the priests, that the statues at whose shrines they ministered, were the gifts of the celestial divinities; and this artful invention was designed to sanction their superstition, and to inspire reverence for the temples in which they were placed. The Palladium of Troy, and the image of Minerva at Athens, were said to have dropped from the clouds; and the ancile, the sacred shield of the Romans, undertook the same earthward voyage in the reign of Numa Pompilius.⁸² This impudent superstition was

⁸² Ovid explains the origin of the word *ancyle*, as applied to these shields:

early introduced into the Christian church when degenerating into superstition; and many tales are recorded by the monkish writers, of communications [from the virgin and apostles, almost too impious to excite derision. Pachomius, a monk of the fourth century, is said by Cyril, to have received at an angel's hands a brazen tablet, inscribed with rules for a monastic order; Thaumaturgus obtained from St. John a creed, through the virgin's intercession; and so late as the twelfth century, abbot Joachim could boast a book of prophecies on copper plates, which an angel had good-naturedly given him as a celestial keepsake. The Italian papists claimed this origin for the shrine of our Lady of Loretto; and a celebrated picture of the virgin, was devoutly believed to have been suspended over Rome, a considerable time, in the sight of the priests and people, until pope John the First marched out in solemn procession, to receive the heavenly present.

The sacred object of Ephesian worship, was carefully preserved, from the period of its first formation, through the ages which intervened, till the demolition of pagan temples, which followed upon the rise of Christianity to the throne of universal empire. The image consisted of a large block of wood, of beech or

"Idque ancyle vocat, quod ab omni parte recisum est,
Quemque notes oculis, angulus omnis abest."

Fast. iii. 377.

A festival was celebrated in honour of the sacred shield; and Tacitus attributes the unsuccessful campaign of the emperor Otho, against Vitellius, to his leaving Rome during the Ancyliorum festum. — *Hist.* i.

elm, but according to some of ebony or vine,⁸³ shaped into a likeness of the goddess, and evidencing its remote antiquity by the rudeness of its workmanship. The first statues were unshaped blocks and stones; and, hence, the word column, *κίον*, was generally used by the Greeks, to denote a statue.⁸⁴ It was a custom in the patriarchal ages, to erect pillars on the site of any memorable event; and these monuments, in many instances, were perverted to idolatrous purposes, and gradually assumed the character of representatives of certain fabled deities. Jacob “*took the stone that he had put for his pillow, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it;*”⁸⁵ and the erection was doubtless honourable to himself, and acceptable to Him whose mercy he had experienced; but the practice degenerating into a superstitious rite, gave rise to the prohibition which appeared under the legation of Moses.⁸⁶ The heaven-fallen idol of Ephesus, was not a representation of the elegant huntress of classic fable, but an Egyptian hieroglyphic, a personification of nature. In this character she was pictured as a woman, having a number of breasts, to denote, according to Jerome, that, as nature, she was “the nurse, the supporter and life of all living creatures.”⁸⁷ To this representation the apostle was supposed by the ancient

⁸³ Mutianus, a noble Roman, consul A. D. 75, who had seen it, affirmed it to be vine.—*Pliny*.

⁸⁴ Winckelm. *Hist. de l'Art.* i. p. 1—9.

⁸⁵ Gen. xxviii. 18.

⁸⁶ Deut. xvi. 21, 22. The Assyrian Nebo was represented by a plain pillar, consecrated by anointing, and worshipped by erecting mounts of stones in his honour, called Bethulia.—*Selden de Dis. Syr.*

⁸⁷ Comm. in Epist. ad Eph. Præfat.

interpreters to refer, when writing to the Ephesians, and comparing the church to a "*body*" and "*fulness*," which Christ supports and nourishes by his bounty. "*Which is his body, and the fulness of him who filleth all with (in) all.*" The apostle is understood, as here intimating to the believing Ephesians, that Christ really was to them what their pagan brethren fabled of their many-breasted goddess, their ever-efficient and all-powerful supporter. Of this opinion are many expositors; but modern criticism hesitates to admit, that an inspired writer would have recourse to an impious pagan superstition, to illustrate such a sacred and important truth. This objection may, perhaps, be neutralized by the consideration, that writing to native Ephesians, it would be natural for him to illustrate his subject by allusions familiar to their minds; and this opinion is strengthened by the circumstance of John, who lived long in Ephesus, using the same mode of expression—"and from his fullness we have all received grace for grace."



The goddess is here represented with three rows of breasts on her body; arms extended; a small tower on her head; on her shoulders wings, which seem to intimate her claims to a descent from heaven.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Plates to Calmet.



The figure here has two rows of breasts; the hands rest on a reed; two stags appear at the feet; and two heads accompany the image, emblematical of the sun and moon; placed above it, to denote their superintendence of nature in her operations.



The figure in the middle is Diana of Ephesus, with four rows of breasts; an inverted trident in each hand;

on her head the lotus sacred to Isis,⁸⁹ denoting her union with that goddess. The inscription above, OMONOIA, signifies *union* or *concord*. The goddess has on her right a priestess of Isis, with the lotus on her head; and on her left is a priest of Serapis, pointing with his right hand to the lotus-crowned head of Diana. The inscription at the bottom is, "Of the cities of Ephesus and Alexandria."

⁸⁹ It would require a formidable dissertation, to consider the importance attached to the *lotus* in the mythology of the ancients. The Nile was a sacred river: many of its plants, as the *Faba Ægyptiaca*, a species of bean, and the *lotus*, were sacred also; and the former on account of its resemblance to a boat, and the latter from its well-known quality of always floating above the surface of the water, were adopted very generally as symbols of the ark. The Ægyptian priests were accustomed to crown themselves with the *lotus*.—*Heliodorus*. l. x. p. 457. From Iamblichus we learn, that a man sitting upon the *lotus*, surrounded with mud, was an emblem of the sun; and from Plutarch, that the sun was represented by the symbol of an infant sitting upon the same plant.—*Iamb. de Myst.* sect. vii. p. 181. *Plut. de Iside*. p. 355. "It is manifest," says Faber, "notwithstanding the physical refinements of Iamblichus and Plutarch upon these hieroglyphics, that something more must be meant by them than the mere natural sun; and I apprehend, that in both cases, the person, who sits upon the lotus, is the great solar patriarch (Noah), and that, in the latter, he was represented as a child, in allusion to his mystical second birth."—*Faber. Myst. of the Cabiri*. vol. i. p. 314. In the Japanese mythology we find the same symbol: the goddess Quawnon is represented sitting upon the same aquatic plant.—*Kämpfer's Japan*. p. 595. In China, the deity upon the *lotus* in the midst of waters, has been long a favourite emblem: and the god Brahma, in the Hindoo mythology, was represented in the same manner.—*See plates of the first and third Avater, in Maurice. Hist. of Hind.* vol. i. In connexion with this diluvian emblem, it is curious to observe Diana mentioned by Strabo, Artemidorus, and Pausanias, by the title of *Limnatis* or the *maritime deity*; in an



ancient inscription in Gruter she is also called *regina undarum*, the queen of the waves; and Orpheus invokes her under the appellation of the preserver of ships. — *Strabo. Geog. lib. 8. p. 361. Artem. Onirot. lib. ii. cap. 42. Paus. Achaic. p. 375. Grut. p. 37. Orph. Argon. lib. i. v. 569.*

Diana Multimammia here appears in the height of her glory and advancement, allegorically representing the beneficence of nature, in communicating support and succour to the various orders of living creatures. The figures of animals sculptured upon her body, intimate their dependence upon her benign influences. Her numerous rows of breasts, emblematically speak the same truth; and the zodaical signs upon her breastplate, indicate the various seasons of the year in which she periodically dispenses her bounty.⁹⁰ The Egyptian Isis was represented in a similar manner; for Macrobius tells us, "she is worshipped in every religion, being either the earth or universal nature, under the influence of the sun; for this reason the whole body of the goddess is covered with breasts, because the universe is nourished by the earth or nature."⁹¹

In the Museum Capitolinum at Rome, there is a figure of Diana Triformis; and this three-fold aspect she frequently assumed, uniting the characters of Luna, Diana, and Hecate.⁹²

⁹⁰ A dissertation on the Ephesian Diana was published at Rome in 1657 by Menetreibus, in which are several engravings.

⁹¹ Macrobius. Satur. lib. i. c. 20.

⁹² The triads of the Gentile world, are generally resolved into corruptions of the doctrine of the trinity, revealed to the patriarchs, and preserved by tradition among their descendants in the scenes of their wide-spread dispersion. It is remarkable, how frequently we meet with the pagan trinity. The famous Siberian medal, now placed in the imperial cabinet of Petersburg, represents on one side a deity with three heads and six arms; he sits cross-legged upon what Dr. Parsons calls a low sofa, or rather the symbolical lotus; and on the reverse there is the following inscription, translated by Colonel Grant:



The key and cords which she here holds, denote her power in hell as Hecate, the guardian; and the torch plainly indicates her character in heaven as the moon.

“The sacred image of God in three images :
By these collect the holy will of God —
Love him.”

This medal is supposed to have been brought from the empire of the Dalai-Lama in Thibet.—*Parson's Remains of Japhet*, chap. 7. *Von Strahlenberg's Intro. to Descrip. of Siberia*. A triple god is described by Kircher among the Japanese, and the celebrated triad of the Hindoos, Brahma, Vishnou, and Seeva, is well known.—*Sir W. Jones on the gods of Greece, &c. Asiat. Res.* vol. i. p. 250. *Plate in Maur. Indian Antiquities*. “At night and in the west, the sun is Vishnou, he is Brahma in the east and in the morning, from noon to evening he is Seeva.”—*Asiat. Res.* vol. v. p. 254. Maurice notices another triple god in India, compounded of Sree Mun Narrin, a beautiful woman, named Maha Letchimy, and a serpent. “These persons are supposed by the Hindoos to be wholly indivisible; the one is three, and the three are one.”—*Ind. Antiq.* vol. iv. p. 750.

The worship of the goddess as Luna, prevailed extensively; the "precious things put forth by the moon," are mentioned in the patriarchal age; and, in the time

A royal grant of land in Carnata, translated from the Sanscrit by Sir W. Jones, closes with the following inscription :

"SRI VIRU PA' CSHA'!"

or,

The god with three eyes.

Asiat. Res. vol. iii.

Geryon the three-headed, is famous in classical antiquity.

Qualis Atlantiaci memoratur littore quondam
Monstrum Geryones immane tricornis iræ,
Cui tres in pugna dextræ varia arma gerebant
Una ignes sævos —

"Thus on the coast, from hoary Atlas named,
Stood triple Geryon : in his three right hands
Three weapons fierce he brandished, vengeful fire."

Sil. Ital. Bell. Pun. lib. xiii. v. 200.

The triad of the Greeks, so frequently referred to by Proclus, has been largely examined by Cudworth. — *Proc. in Plat. Timæum.* lib. v. c. 10.

The inhabitants of northern Europe had various trinities :

That of the prose Edda is Odin, Vilè, and Ve.

Of the Voluspa, Odin, Hænir, and Lodur.

The Scandinavians swore by Odin, Freyr, and Njord.

The Nornir or Destinies were three.

Eddalæren og dens Oprindelse, by Finn Magnusen,
Copenhagen, 1824.

Among the Druids the number three was sacred and mystical : hence, their writing-rods of three sides, and the fondness of the ancient British bards for the triad, tribanau or triplet.

Eiry mynydd — gwangeus Iâr —

Gochwiban gwynt ar dalar —

Yn yr ing gorau yw'r Câr.

"Snow of the mountain ! the bird is ravenous for food —
Keen whistles the blast on the headland —
In distress the friend is most valuable !"

of Jeremiah, cakes and offerings were presented to the "queen of heaven" on the house-tops in Palestine.⁹³

A tree was selected, in the first instance, for the shrine of the goddess; and, in accordance with the universal practice of heathenism, the image was set up under its shade. Diana was believed to manifest herself in dreams and visions; and many tales of her power and pretended revelations were common among the vulgar. Whilst sleeping, Aristarche, a lady, is commanded by her to accompany the Phœceans to the foundation of Marseilles; and during the erection of her temple, Metagenes the architect is miraculously assisted in placing a stupendous marble over the doorway. Chandler supposes, that these self manifestations, gave rise in the early ages of Christianity to the belief of supernatural interposition by the Panagia, or Virgin Mary, and by saints appearing to the faithful in daily and nightly visions. The superstition was doubtless introduced into the Christian church by some injudicious zealots, under the mistaken notion of exalting their religion in the estimation of the pagans, by placing before them intercourse with the divinity as immediate as that of which the old idolatry boasted. Still does the remnant of the primitive church, existing among the followers of the false prophet in Asia Minor, fondly cling to the supposed revelations of the "mother of God," and the visits of the Panagia, are as much a matter of exultation to the superstitious Greeks, as the manifestations of Diana were to the inhabitants of heathen Ephesus.

⁹³ Jer. vii. 18; xlv. 17, 18.

In other places besides Ephesus, religious honours were paid to the goddess; and Dianium became the name of a town and promontory in Spain, derived from the celebration of her worship.⁹⁴ The ancient Latins built her a temple on mount Aventine, in the reign of Servius Tullius; and the sacrifice of an ox here by a Roman instead of a Sabine, is supposed to have decided the destiny of Rome, and to have fixed upon its hills the seat of universal empire.⁹⁵ Gaul and Britain were especially devoted to her service; and it is a curious fact, preserved by tradition and ancient chronicles, that St. Paul's church, in London, occupies the site of an ancient temple of Diana. "The stately church of St. Paul," says Seymour, "stands in or near the place where once had been a temple of Diana, the goddess worshipped by the Londoners, as Apollo was by the people of Thorney, or Westminster. This appeared from the tusks of boars, horns of stags and of oxen, and from the representation of deer, and even of Diana herself, upon the sacrificing vessels found in digging the foundation of it, which was begun by Ethelbert, king of Kent, about the year of Christ 610."⁹⁶ It appears from classical antiquity, that stags and oxen were frequently offered to Diana; and Dr. Woodward observes, in a letter to Sir C. Wren, that he had in his collection, horns of oxen and stags, which were dug up near the church, with a small image of the goddess. An ancient manuscript in the Cotton Library, informs us, that in

⁹⁴ Now Cape Martin.

⁹⁵ Eustace Classical Tour, vol. i. p. 382.

⁹⁶ Seymour, p. 652.

the time of Melitus, the first bishop of London, Ethelbert, king of Kent, built a church to the honour of St. Paul, on the site of a temple of Diana; that certain ceremonies were performed afterwards in the church allusive to her worship; and that manors were held on condition of offering a doe or buck at the high altar of the church.⁹⁷ The *crosse* in *Cheape* ad-

⁹⁷ This was done in the reign of Edward the First. Stowe writes as follows:

"Sir William Baud, knight, the third of Edward the First, in the yeere 1274, on Candlemas-day, granted to Harry de Borham, deane of St. Paul's, and to the chapter there, that in consideration of twenty-two acres of ground or land by them granted within their manor of Westley, in Essex, to be inclosed into his park of Curingham; he would for ever, upon the feast-day of the Conversion of Paul, in winter, give unto them a good doe, seasonable and sweete; and upon the feast of the Commemoration of St. Paul, in summer, a good bucke; and offer the same at the high altar, the same to bee spent among the canons residents; the doe to be brought by one man at the houre of procession; and throw the procession to the high altar, and the bringer to have nothing: the bucke to be brought by all his meyney in like manner, and they to have paid unto them, by the chamberlaine of the church, twelve pence only, and no more to be required.

"This grant he made; and for performance bound the lands of him and his heires to be distrained on: and if the lands should be evicted (*resumed by a court of judicature*) that yet he and his heires should accomplish the gift. Witnesses, Richard Tilberie, William de Wockendon, Richard de Harlowe, knight, Peter of Stamford, Thomas of Walden, and some others.

"Sir Walter Baud, sonne to William, confirmed this gift in the thirtieth of the said king: and the witnesses thereunto were, Nicholas de Wockendon, Richard de Rokeley, Thomas de Mandeville, John de Rochford, knights, Richard de Bromford, William de Markes, William de Fulham, and others. Thus much for the graunt.

joining the cathedral, was ornamented with a figure of the goddess; and the alabaster statue, with the water of the Thames flowing from the naked breast,

"Now what I have heard by report, and partly seene, it followeth :

"Upon the feast-day of the Commemoration of St. Paul, the bucke being brought up to the steps of the high altar in Paul's church, at the houre of procession, the deane and chapter being apparralled in coapes and vestments, with garlands of roses on their heads, they sent the body of the bucke to baking.

"Then follows :

"There was belonging to the church of St. Paul, for both the dayes, two special sutes of vestments, the one embroidered with buckes, the other with does, both given by the said Bauds (as I have heard). Thus much for that matter."—pp. 640, 641.

The custom is also described by Pennant :

"Till Queen Elizabeth's days, the doe or buck was received solemnly, at the steps of the high altar, by the dean and chapter, attired in their sacred vestments, and crowned with garlands of roses. They sent the body of the bucke to baking, and had the head, fixed on a pole, borne before the cross in the procession, until they issued out of the west doore, where the keeper that brought it blowed the deathe of the bucke, and then the horners that were about the citie, presently answered him in like manner; for which paines, they had eache man of the dean and chapter, four-pence in money and their dinner, and the keeper that brought it was allowed, during his abode there, for his service, meate, drinke, and lodging, and five shillings in money at his going away, together with a loaſe of breade having the picture of St. Paul upon it."—*Second edit.* p. 367.

To this curious rite Erasmus probably refers :

He says, "*Apud Anglos mos est Londini, ut certo die populus in summum templum, Paulo sacrum, inducat longo hastili impositum caput feræ (damas illi quidem appellant, vulgus capros, quum re vera sit hircorum genus cornibus palmatis in ea insula abundans) cum inamæno sonitu cornuum venatoriorum. Hac pompa præceditur ad summum altare—dicas omnes afflatos furore Delio.*"—*Ecclesiasta.* lib. i.

plainly proves the identity of the British image with the Multimammia of Ephesus.⁹⁶

The veneration in which the Ephesians held their goddess, induced them to provide an edifice for the reception of her image, worthy of its fame and sanctity. A shepherd's accidental discovery, furnished them with suitable materials for the building they contemplated. It happened that, while feeding his flock on mount Prion, he observed two rams fighting; and in the struggle, the horn of one missing his antagonist, struck a projecting piece of rock, and broke off a fragment of white marble. Upon entering the city with his specimen, he was received by his countrymen with the most extravagant demonstrations of joy, his name was changed from Pixodorus to Evangelus, or the good messenger; and the chief magistrate of Ephesus, was ordered to offer a monthly sacrifice to him on the spot of the discovery, which was continued to the age of Augustus Cæsar. By this fortunate circumstance, an abundant stock of valuable materials was placed at the disposal of the people, for the erection of the temple, and the beautifying of the city; and the expense of transporting marble from the distant quarries then in use was spared. Mount Prion is described as a large circular hill, overlooking the site of ancient Ephesus, and Pausanias places it among the curiosities of Ionia. It contributed largely to the splendour of the Ionian cities; and tradition

⁹⁶ Stowe remarks, "There was set up a curious wrought tabernacle of grey marble, and in the same an alabaster image of Diana, and water, conveyed from the Thames, trilling from her naked breast, for a time but now decayed." — *Edit.* 1618. p. 484.

ascribes to it a remarkable property of preserving the bodies of the dead. It is certain that it was used as a place of sepulture; and probably the story is correct, that Timothy and John were buried in it. The perforations made in the side of the mountain to admit the bodies still remain, and the passing traveller sometimes traces the inscription, "This is the monument," &c. The story of the evangelist became corrupted with fictions in an early age, but yet it is certain, that Ephesus was, for a considerable period, the place of his residence; and the ruins of a brick building, on the side of mount Prion, may be still identified with the church or oratory of St. John, which the emperor Justinian rebuilt. Prion is now a scene of silence and desolation—its vast dripping caverns resound no longer with the noise of the chisel—and the only vestiges of the busy scenes of former times, consist of huge blocks of marble among its sand and brush-wood, which war, calamity, and earthquake, have not left time to polish and prepare.

It is supposed by Lord Aberdeen, a high authority in all subjects connected with the ancients, that temples were unknown in European Greece in the age of Homer, but that they existed at that time on the Asiatic coast.⁹⁹ Hence, in Troy, mention is made of a temple of Minerva; the doors are opened, and the

⁹⁹ In the catalogue of the ships, where the forces of Athens are enumerated, they are called "the people of the noble Erectheus, whom the fertile earth produced, and whom Minerva nourished. She placed him in her own rich temple, where he is annually propitiated by the Athenian youth with sacrifices of bulls and lambs." — *Iliad*. ii. 547. This passage is, however, thought by some to be an interpolation.

goddess is approached ; but the building appears to have been simply a receptacle for the image of the goddess. Antecedent to the erection of these buildings, the altar, uncanopied and exposed to public view, with its hedge or sacred inclosure, was the scene of religious rites. Convenience would soon suggest the covering-in of the inclosure ; and the progress of civilization, attended by an increased superstitious zeal, speedily succeeded the rude erections of the barbaric ages, with the splendidly adorned temples, which still pinnacle with their ruins the headlands and promontories of the east. It is impossible to ascertain the period with any precision, when sacred buildings began to prevail among the Greeks ; notices of them are occasionally found in the *Odyssey*, and this serves to strengthen the hypothesis, which ascribes to that poem a more modern origin than the *Iliad*. Equally uncertain also is the era, when that great distinction in the history of art began to prevail, which so early distinguished the Dorian and Ionian states, which was adhered to with such remarkable uniformity, through so many ages, by the respective communities. The building of the Sicyonian treasury, by the tyrant of Sicyon, in the thirty-third olympiad, or about 650 B. C., is the first instance, mentioned by Pausanias, of the existence of these two architectural orders ; but the earliest specimen of the Ionic style of which any remains now exist, is to be found in Samos, an island opposite to the site of Ephesus, whose temple of Juno Herodotus so highly extols. (lib. iii. 60.) In process of time, the Ionic style almost generally superseded, in the erection of temples, the severe beauties of the sister

Doric; but the earthquakes, which so often changed the features, and distorted the face of Asia Minor, aided in modern times by the tide of Turkish barbarism, have left only few and scattered vestiges of the beautiful structures of the Grecian colonists. The plan of Diana's temple was formed by Ctesiphon, of Crete, assisted by his son Metaganes, in the sixth century before the Christian era; but the building was not completed until upwards of two hundred and twenty years after its foundation. The two architects wrote a treatise upon the fabric. All the Asian cities were emulous to make the most valuable contributions; and the genius of the most celebrated masters, was employed upon its embellishment. "The spot chosen for it was a marsh,"¹⁰⁰ as most likely to preserve

¹⁰⁰ Sacred edifices were usually erected by the Greeks and Romans upon elevated sites, but the practice was not so scrupulously attended to, as is asserted by some. The custom was, however, generally adopted, and is of very high antiquity. Hector, according to Homer, sacrificed upon the top of Ida; and Abraham was commanded to offer up Isaac on Moriah. Balak is represented as selecting three elevated stations, where he sacrificed with Balaam, and probably by some sacred erection.

FIRST STATION.

Num. xxii. 41. "*And brought him up into the high places of Baal.*" "And he led him to the high places of his god." (Chaldee and Samaritan). "And he made him ascend Bemoth Baal." (Syriac.) "He made him ascend to the pillar or mound of Baal." (Greek.) "And he led him up to some temples of his god." (Arabic.)

SECOND STATION.

Num. xxiii. 14. "*And he brought him into the field of Zophim, to the top of Pisgah.*"

"To the field of observation, to the top of the hill." (Chaldee.) "To the field of the watchers, to the top of the hill." (Syriac.) "To

the structure free from gaps, and uninjured by earthquakes. The foundation was made with charcoal rammed, and with fleeces. The souterrain consumed immense quantities of marble. The edifice was exalted on a basement with ten steps. It was the finest specimen of the Ionic style, in which the fluted column and capital, with volutes, were originally introduced. The whole length of the temple was four hundred and twenty-five feet, and the breadth two hundred and twenty; with one hundred and twenty-seven columns of the Ionic order, and Parian marble, each of a single shaft, and sixty feet high. These were donations from kings;¹⁰¹

the field of the watchers, to the peak of observation." (Samaritan). "To the field of observation, on the summit of a levelled place." (Greek). "To an high place, on the top of a citadel." (Arabic).

THIRD STATION.

Num. xxiii. 28. "*And Balak brought Balaam unto the top of Peor.*"

¹⁰¹ This is undoubtedly a mistake, though the original passage in Pliny sanctions the statement. "Universo templo longitudo est ccccxv pedum, latitudo ducentorum viginti, columnæ centum viginti septem a singulis regibus factæ, sexaginta pedum altitudine: ex his triginta sex cœlate, &c."—lib. xxxvi. cap. 14. It is difficult to conceive of there being one hundred and twenty-seven kings in Asia, to bestow such gifts; besides the arrangement being wholly repugnant to the form and symmetry of the ancient temples. To remove the difficulty, it is proposed by Mr. Windham, to alter the punctuation of the passage, by placing a comma after "centum;" which makes it one hundred columns, twenty-seven the gifts of so many kings.—*Archæologia*. vol. vi. No. 6. The temple, though superior to St. Paul's, was inferior to St. Peter's at Rome; the Ephesian temple being four hundred and twenty-five feet long, and the church of St. Peter eight hundred and forty Roman palms, each palm being about nine English inches.

thirty-six were carved, and one of them, perhaps as a model, by Scopas. It had a double row of columns, fifteen on either side; and Vitruvius has not determined if it had a roof, probably over the cell only. The folding doors or gates had been continued four years in glue, and were made of cypress wood, which had been treasured up for four generations, highly polished. These were found by Mutianus as fresh and as beautiful four hundred years after, as when new. The ceiling was of cedar; and the steps ascending the roof (of the cell?) of a single stem of a vine, which witnessed the durable nature of that wood. The dimensions of this great temple excite ideas of uncommon grandeur from mere massiveness, but the notices we collect of its internal ornament will increase our admiration."¹⁰²

The most perfect works of the great masters in sculpture and painting, were deposited in it; and one of the works of Apelles, which it contained, is recorded by Pliny, to have been worth upwards of twenty talents of gold.¹⁰³ The image of the goddess, gorgeously apparelled, was placed in a shrine, concealed from the gaze of the vulgar, except when service was performing; and to preserve the unwieldy statue in a firm position, a bar of metal, probably of gold, was placed under each hand. "Praxiteles and his son Cephesidorus, adorned the shrine; Scopas contributed a statue of Hecate; Timarete, the first female artist upon record, finished a picture of the goddess, the most ancient in Ephesus; and Parrhasius and Apel-

¹⁰² Chandler's Travels, vol. i. p. 169, 170.

¹⁰³ 38,650*£*.

les, both Ephesians, employed their skill to embellish the pannels of the walls."

It has often been a subject of curiosity and admiration, how the ancients moved the stupendous masses they employed in the erection of their temples.¹⁰⁴ The stones for the pyramids were brought along artificial causeways; but the method generally adopted in moving columns, was by affixing strong iron axles in each end, and inserting them in broad wheels of solid construction. This plan was contrived by Ctesiphon, to convey marbles from the quarries at Prion; and a representation of the machine attached to an obelisk, may be seen in Montfaucon.¹⁰⁵ The enormous sacrificial stones, which are found upon the eminences of northern Europe, are, however, as remarkable instances of toil and labour; and still continue, in this age of mechanic power and skill, to excite the astonishment, and perplex the ingenuity of the traveller.

B. C. The Lydian monarchy being overthrown
540. in the person of Cræsus, the Ionian states
 became subject to Cyrus, and the Ephe-

¹⁰⁴ Plumb-lines (Amos, vii. 7, 8,) wheels and axles, are mentioned in contemporary writings. Denon says, that the Egyptians began by elevating masses, in which they marked out their architectural lines; and it is certain, that at the temple of Hermonthis, the sculpture of the capitals has not been finished, so that the pillars were worked after they were put up. The obelisks are described by Pliny as having been brought to Thebes, from the quarries, by means of a canal (lib. xxxvi. c. 9.) The obelisks were made to rest across the stream upon the opposite banks; vessels loaded with bricks were brought under; the cargo was then taken out, and the vessels rising, elevated the obelisks." — *Fosbrooke's Ency. of Antiq.* vol. i. p. 16.

¹⁰⁵ Montfaucon. vol. iii. pl. 60.

sians paid tribute in presents, to the sovereign of Persia. The south-western part of Asia Minor was formed into a satrapy, and paid, in the time of Darius, the sum of four hundred talents of silver into the treasury of Susa. Frequent attempts were made to shake off the slavery of the Asiatic monarchs, in which they were assisted by the mother country; and a sanguinary battle was fought at Ephesus, between the Persians and Ionians, in which the latter were defeated. In the contests which took place between the Asiatics, and Asiatic Greeks, Ephesus was frequently the scene of conflict; and Herodotus mentions a band of fugitive Chians approaching the city in the evening, while the women were celebrating the mysteries of Ceres, and being cruelly massacred by the inhabitants.¹⁰⁶ The calamities of Ionia at this period, excited the deepest commiseration among the Greeks in Europe; and when the capture of Miletus, by the troops of Persia, was represented by Phrynichus, upon the Athenian stage, the audience were so affected as to burst into tears. The sympathy of the mother country was but ill repaid; for when Xerxes attempted its conquest, he was assisted in his ambitious undertaking by the Ionic confederates. To the Persians Ephesus remained tributary, with but few intervals, from the termination of the Lydian empire, to the overthrow of the Persians by Alexander; but, during this period, it was frequently under the sway of petty despots, who, by paying the usual subsidies into the treasury of the empire, were permitted to tyrannise over its inhabitants. The names of Athenagoras,

¹⁰⁶ Herod. lib. vi. c. 16.

Comas, Aristarchus, and Hegesias, occur in the list of its tyrants.

The history of architecture, sculpture, and painting, is intimately connected with that of Ephesus; for some of the most famous artists of antiquity, were either numbered among its natives, or resided within its walls. About 430 B. C. Scopas, the architect and sculptor, flourished, and contributed largely to the beauty of the city, and the splendour of its temple. One of his statues of Venus was transported in after-times to Rome; and the monument of the husband of Artemisia, upon which he was employed, is recorded as one of the seven wonders of the world. This erection was to the memory of Mausolus; and from this circumstance all similar monuments have been since called mausoleums. Parrhasius, the painter, mentioned by Horace,

"*quas aut Parrasius protulit aut Scopas,*"

was also an Ephesian, and flourished about 415 years B. C. obtaining by his proficiency in his art, the title of the king of his profession. In the time of Alexander, Ephesus was honoured with the celebrated Apelles, whose well-known picture of that monarch, grasping the thunder, was seen and praised by Pliny; and so pleased was the Macedonian hero with the production, that he forbade any man besides him to attempt his likeness. Most of the finest performances of these artists were placed in the temple of Diana, which had become one of the richest depots which the ancient world could boast, when it was partially despoiled of its treasures by an incendiary.

It is related of Eratosthratus, an Ephesian philosopher, that, wishing to secure an immortal name, he attempted the destruction of Diana's temple by fire, preferring an infamous notoriety to a wholly unrecorded life. The Asiatics conquered by Alexander, afterward noticed with a superstitious awe, that this conflagration took place that very night, when that prince was born at Pella; and it was, hence, regarded by them, as a type of that general desolation of their territory, which marked his conquests. It is probable, however, that only the wooden roof of the structure was destroyed, and its splendour defaced, as its marble columns and massy walls, would not easily yield to the action of the element. Twenty years afterwards, Alexander penetrated into Ionia on his first inroad into Asia, immediately after the battle of the Granicus; and the Persians retired from Ephesus to Miletus as he approached, and the city opened her gates to receive the victorious Macedonians. For a considerable period, a struggle had been carried on in the Grecian cities, between the aristocracy and the democracy. The contentions of these two hostile factions, had rendered them an easy prey to their Asiatic neighbours; and in particular, had frequently deluged Ephesus with blood. The flight of the Persians to Miletus, who had constantly favoured the aristocratic party, gave the supremacy to the opposite faction, who immediately proceeded to retaliate upon their former masters, insomuch, that Alexander, upon his arrival, found many of the principal citizens murdered, and a general massacre threatened. The king promptly

B. C.

356.

interfered in behalf of the victims of popular fury, compelling the triumphant mob to abate their violence; and Arrian relates, that this conduct contributed more to his immediate renown, than any of his victories in Asia Minor. At this period the Ephesians were busily engaged in repairing their half-burnt temple; and Alexander assigned to them the revenues hitherto paid to the "King of kings," at Susa, for the promotion of the work.¹⁰⁷ The conqueror paid religious honours at the shrine of the goddess; the huge image was carried in procession before his troops; and the pupil of Aristotle bowed his head like a true polytheist, in reverence for the Ephesian idol.

In the wars of Alexander's generals, Ephesus frequently received new masters; and an attempt was made by Lysimachus to change its name, and to alter its site. The ancient city was built by Androclus upon the mountains; but the erection of the temple in the marshes below, soon caused its desertion, by gradually bringing the inhabitants to reside within its sacred precincts. Lysimachus, however, ordered them to remove a short distance, and to found a new city under the patronage of his licentious wife, Arsinoë. With this capricious mandate the Ephesians were unwilling to comply, until compelled by stratagem. A heavy fall

¹⁰⁷ Anacharsis visited Ephesus fourteen years after the burning of the temple; and the inhabitants showed him with regret its ruins. "Nothing remains," says he, "but the four walls, and some columns which rise in the midst of its ruins; the fire had consumed the roof, and the ornaments which decorated the nave; it had begun to be rebuilt, and besides the contributions of the citizens, the women had contributed their jewels."

of rain coming on, the sewers were blocked up by the soldiers, which laid the streets and houses under water, and obliged the inhabitants to occupy their new abode. But the memory of Arsinoë soon sunk into oblivion; the modern city continued to flourish under the name of Ephesus, and was recognised, during the administration of the Romans, as the greatest emporium within mount Taurus.

The architect employed in repairing the injury sustained by the Ephesian temple was Dinocrates; the same who offered to cut mount Athos into a statue of Alexander, and to suspend an image in a temple by means of loadstones. From an early period it had enjoyed the privilege of a sanctuary, the advantages of which were increased by succeeding benefactors. Alexander extended the asylum to a furlong; Mithridates shot an arrow from the pediment, and enlarged the boundary to the spot where it fell; Marc Antony doubled the distance, so as to reach the city; but the concession being abused, the different grants were annulled by order of Augustus. In this pagan custom we have the original of the sanctuaries in the monastic establishments of the middle ages; and we have here another instance, of that alliance which was formed between the professing church of Christ, in the time of her corruption, and the ritual of heathenism.

The rites observed in the worship of Diana, corresponded with those of the other heathen deities. Her priests were required by the ancient institutions to be eunuchs, and to be assisted only by virgins. In later times these rules were not adhered to; and such

licentiousness characterised the heathen mysteries, that the apostle Paul asserts, that it is "*a shame even to speak of those things, which are done of them in secret.*"¹⁰⁸ The religious rites of the ancients, have found a learned and ingenious defender in Warburton; but the historical testimony as to their impurity, is too strong to be overcome by his acute reasoning. Many of the early Christian writers were converts from heathenism; and it is inconceivable, that they should so strongly have denounced its ritual, had it been so innocent and instructive as is asserted. Clemens Alexandrinus calls those who brought the mysteries from Egypt into Greece, "the fathers of an execrable superstition, who sowed the seeds of wickedness and corruption in human life;" and he closes his remarks by saying, "these are the mysteries of atheistical men; I may rightly call those athiests, who are destitute of the knowledge of him who is truly God, and most impudently worshipped a boy torn in pieces by the Titans, a woman lamenting, and the things which modesty forbids to name." The force of this, and similar testimonies, Warburton endeavours to evade, by insinuating, that the Christians bore a "secret grudge" to the mysteries; but the learned writer has not shown his authority, for thus traducing their character, by the charge of false and calumnious representation.¹⁰⁹ It appears strange, that Socrates should always have declined to be initiated, had the mysteries been intended, as their defender intimates,

¹⁰⁸ Eph. v. 12.

¹⁰⁹ Warburton. Div. Leg. lib. ii. sect. 4. Leland, Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation. vol. i. c. viii. ix.

to elevate the moral taste of the people, and inculcate the doctrines of a providence and a future state. The phrases and ceremonies employed by the mystagogues, were, indeed, early introduced among the Christians; but this was adopted in order to conciliate the heathens, and proved to be a policy most fatal to the church. It is painful to find a writer like Clement, speaking of the venerable "orgies of the word," and degrading the cause of truth by such pagan allusions as the following: "O true holy mysteries! being initiated, I am made holy;" "the Lord himself acts the part of an hierophant;" "these are the bacchanalia of my mysteries, come then and be initiated."

CHRISTIAN EPHESUS.

It was about the year 53, in the reign of the emperor Claudius, that Christianity was first preached in Ephesus, and the light of the gospel penetrated the "gross darkness" in which the city of Diana had for ages been enveloped. A galley from the port of Corinth brought Paul with Aquila and Priscilla, to the opposite shore of Asia Minor, and the Christian faith then made its first inroad into that region where a degrading, though fascinating idolatry, had been so long dominant. And Paul *"sailed thence (Corinth) into Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila; having shorn his head in Cenchrea, for he had a vow. And he came to Ephesus, and left them there; but he himself entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the*

Jews."¹¹⁰ If the apostle's "spirit" had been "stirred" within him when gazing upon the temples, groves, and statues of Athens, similar feelings of indignation and pity, we may conceive, would animate his mind, as he drew nigh to Ephesus, and beheld the beautiful architecture of Ionia employed to recommend superstitions and libertinism equally as dark and revolting.

¹¹⁰ Acts, xviii. 18. Cenchrea was a port on the east side of the Isthmus of Corinth, opposite to the Lecheum, another port on the west. Here a Christian church was planted by Paul; for we find him commending Phœbe to the regards of the Roman believers, *as a servant of the church which is at Cenchrea.* (Rom. xxi. 1.) By this pious female he sent from Corinth his epistle to the Romans.

It has been a subject of much dispute, whether it was Paul who shaved his head, or Aquila. Chrysostom, Isidore of Seville, Grotius, Hammond, Zegerus, Erasmus, Baronius, Pearce, and Wesley, refer the vow to Aquila; while Jerome, Augustine, Bede, Calmet, Dodd, and Rosenmüller, attribute it to Paul. The latter opinion is the most probable. The Æthiopic and the Latin versions, refer the vow to both, reading *they shaved*, instead of *having shaved*, perhaps on account of the difficulty of deciding.

It is probable, that Paul had become a *Nazareus votivus*, and, consequently, had bound himself to observe the law of the Nazarites for a certain time. The *Nazaræi votivi*, (Num. vi.) were required to abstain from wine, grapes, and all inebriating liquors, during the time of their separation. They were also to let their hair grow without cutting, till the days of their vow were fulfilled; then it was to be shaved off, and the appointed sacrifice to be offered in the temple. From this practice of the Jewish Nazarites, the heathens probably derived their custom, of consecrating their hair in times of danger, &c. to their divinities, which Lucian represents as of frequent occurrence, and with which he himself had complied. *De Syria Dea.* The emperor Nero is said by Suetonius, to have cut off his first beard, and to have devoted it to Jupiter Capitolinus, placing it in a golden box, set with jewels. Nazaritism was partly a religious institution, and partly civil and prudential.

We can scarcely, however, conceive of any expedition so apparently hopeless, as that in which he was embarked; or any scheme so chimerical, as the one which he was prosecuting:—a Cilician missionary, almost solitary, bearing no edicts to sanction, no civil power to overawe, and no earthly advantages to invite, wafted in a small Corinthian vessel to the Asian shore, to subvert a religion that was national, popular, and long established; for the embellishment of which, the genius of antiquity had been taxed, and which it was equally the interest of the artizan, the policy of the priest, and the duty of

Its laws were promotive of the strictest sanctity, and calculated to preserve the health, sobriety, and temperance of the community. Hence, we read, "her Nazarites were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk." (Lam. iv. 7.) Samson, Samuel, John the Baptist, and, according to the rabbins, Absolem, were Nazarites, and Joseph is said to have been *nazir echair*, which we translate, "separated from his brethren," but which the Vulgate renders "Nazaræi inter fratres suos." Persons recovering from sickness, or preserved from danger, frequently took upon them the vow; and it is probable, that Paul had experienced some deliverance on this occasion, which the historian has not narrated. At the present time in Persia, if a child be sick, the mother frequently makes a vow, that the razor shall not come upon his head for a certain time, and sometimes for life, as in Sam. i. 11. When the time that is limited expires, the child's head is shaved, money is collected from the relatives, and sent as Netzers or offerings to the mosque, and consecrated. — *Morier's Second Journey*, p. 109.

Homer speaks of parents dedicating the hair of their children to some deity, which was cut off when they came to manhood, and consecrated to the gods. Achilles cut off his golden locks at the funeral of Patroclus, and threw them into the river, his father having dedicated them to the river god Sperchius.—*Iliad*. xxiii. 142, &c. See also *Æneid*. iv. 698.

the magistrate to preserve. When the apostle, with his two companions, entered the harbour of Ephesus, and mingled with its passing crowds, the "weak things of this world" were arrayed against the "things that are mighty;" the foolishness of preaching was brought in contact with the wisdom of the wise; and a mere human judgment would have immediately predicted the defeat and disgrace of the intruders. But it was under similar circumstances, that Christianity was universally established: neither worldly pomp, nor civil authority, nor secular wisdom, was employed to favour its introduction; because the excellency of the power was of God and not of man. In this procedure, there is a beautiful correspondence with the arrangements of divine wisdom in the natural world, which frequently bring before us the most stupendous results, proceeding from causes apparently trifling and feeble: the pride and glory of the forest originates in the insignificant seed, which every wind bears on its bosom, and every bird seizes as its prey; and the ripple of the mountain-born current, often expands into a "place of broad rivers and streams," where "go the ships, and that leviathan, whom thou hast made to play therein." This scantiness of preparation, and majesty of result, develope a mighty, though invisible agency at work; and, hence, the very loneliness, desertion, and formidable opponents of the apostles, "turned to them for a testimony," increasing in importance as their cause prospered, and proved to be irrefragable when paganism was uncrowned, and the priestly prostitutes of Ephesus were succeeded by the

churches, bishops, and deacons of a persecuted and unpatronised sect.

The first scene of Paul's ministrations in Ephesus, was a Jewish synagogue; for over all the east, at an early period, colonies of that nation were scattered. Separated from their native land by the fortune of war or the pursuits of commerce, they still retained their national character and peculiar ritual, occasionally travelling to Jerusalem to worship and sacrifice in David's city. From the book of Esther we learn, that in the reign of Ahasuerus or Artaxerxes Longimanus, the Jews were found in all the provinces of Persia, and in a sufficient number to defend themselves from a formidable conspiracy of their enemies.¹¹¹ After their captivity in Babylon, they were spread not only through Asia, but Africa, and the European cities and islands; and, hence, Strabo, cited by Josephus, states, "this people had already passed into every city, nor were it easy to find any place in the world, which had not received this nation and been possessed by it."¹¹² In the time of Tiberius, it is related, that four thousand libertini of the Jewish superstition were banished into Sardinia, and the rest commanded to quit Italy, if they did not abjure their religion.¹¹³ Philo speaks of a great part of the city beyond the Tiber, being inhabited by Jews, mostly libertini, who were permitted to live according to their own rites and customs.¹¹⁴ We are not, therefore,

¹¹¹ Esth. iii. 8—9. 2, 16.

¹¹² Joseph. Antiq. lib. xiv. c. 7.

¹¹³ Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 85.

¹¹⁴ *Libertus*, according to the Romans, was one who had been a

surprised at finding a community of Jews in the bosom of the Ephesian idolatry: the extent, wealth, and commercial importance of the city, would naturally make it the resort of all nations; and the dispersion of a portion of the chosen tribes in the high places of heathenism, was doubtless an ordination of providence, to give a public testimony against the abominations and errors with which they were characterised.

The stay which Paul made at this time in Ephesus was probably short; but we may conclude, that his visit was valued, from the wish of his hearers, that he would tarry longer. He, however, bade them farewell, leaving behind him Aquila and Priscilla, with a promise of a speedy return.¹¹⁵ These two individuals are frequently mentioned in the apostle's writings: as his converts they were admitted to his friendship and confidence, and were highly useful to him in his various labours, as well as to the infant church. Most of the principal MSS. read *Prisca*, instead of *Priscilla*; and some critics have supposed Aquila to be the same with the Onkelos of rabbinical history.¹¹⁶ They are first mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, as Jews of Pontus, resident in Rome, but banished thence by an edict of the emperor Claudius.¹¹⁷ This circumstance is mentioned by Suetonius, who observes, that "he

slave, and obtained his freedom; *libertinus* was the son of a *libertus*. In Acts, vi. 9, mention is made of the synagogue of the libertines.

¹¹⁵ Acts, xviii. 20, 21.

¹¹⁶ Wolfius. Bibl. Hebr. vol. ii. p. 1147.

¹¹⁷ Acts, xviii. 2.

expelled the Jews from Rome, as they were making continual insurrections under their leader Chrestus."¹¹⁸ This passage has given rise to various comments, some imagining, that by Chrestus the historian meant Christ; but it is not likely that he would make such a mistake, both as to time and place; and, hence, the opinion is more probable, that some factious Jew is referred to. The expulsatory edict did not emanate from the senate, and only continued in force during the emperor's life; for, a short time afterwards, the capital was again filled with the returned exiles. After their banishment from Rome, Aquila and Priscilla fixed their residence at Corinth, where Paul, being an artizan of the same craft, was introduced to their notice; "for by their occupation they were tent-makers."¹¹⁹ The trade meant by *σκηνοποιοὶ*, has been variously interpreted, a sort of umbrella-maker, a weaver, a hanger of curtains in the theatres, as well as a maker of the portable tents carried by soldiers; but, perhaps, the notion of a carpenter, *faber lignarius*, may be preferred. The fellow-workmen of Paul were instructed by him in the truths of Christianity; and the attachment of his converts, led them to abandon Corinth, and accompany him on his route to Ephesus. Here they continued pursuing for some time their mechanical craft for a subsistence (certainly until the first epistle to the Corinthians was written, as a salutation is sent by them in it);¹²⁰ and doubtless in this

¹¹⁸ Suet. in vit. Claud. c. 25. "Judæos impulsore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit."

¹¹⁹ Acts, xviii. 3.

¹²⁰ 1 Cor. xvi. 19.

period the cause of truth was essentially promoted by their example, zeal, and labours. When the epistle to the Romans was penned, it appears that they were settled again in the scene of their former residence, the emperor Claudius being dead; and the apostle acknowledges a remarkable instance of their attachment, in that for his "*life they laid down their own necks.*"¹²¹ We are not informed to what circumstance this refers; but it is evident, that they had hazarded their own safety, to preserve the threatened life of the apostle. At this time they devoted their house, like Philemon and Nymphas, for the believers to assemble in,¹²² the enmity of a heathen population, and the jealousy of the Roman magistracy, forbidding their meeting in any more public place. Returning again to Ephesus, they are saluted by Paul in his second epistle to Timothy, and in that city it is probable that they terminated their days. Such are the scanty notices we find of this converted Jew and Jewess, whose memory deserves to be blessed: they were the "helpers" of Paul in "Christ Jesus;" the seed sown by him in the Ephesian synagogue, was nurtured by their pious care; and the names of Aquila and Priscilla, must be held in grateful recollection, as among those by whom Christianity was first hailed, when breaking in upon the night of ages, and by whose instrumentality its light was extensively diffused amid the surrounding darkness.

During the absence of Paul, Ephesus was visited by

¹²¹ Rom. xvi. 3, 4.

¹²² Rom. xvi. 5. *Likewise greet the church that is in their house.*"
Phil. 2. Colos. iv. 15.

Apollos, a learned Jew, who greatly contributed to the advancement of the new religion. The name of this individual, variously written Apelles and Apollonius,¹²³ is the title of one of the heathen deities; and the conjecture is probable, that the parents of Apollo, as it should be written, were Gentiles, and converted to Judaism after their child had been born and named.¹²⁴ The city of Alexandria, the place of his birth, had been long celebrated for its academy, books, and literati; and in its schools Apollo had doubtless been instructed in rhetorical science, and the learning of the times. Meeting with Aquila and Priscilla, he was instructed by them in the Christian verity, of which, previously, he had but scanty information, and immediately commenced teaching the faith of Christ in the synagogue of Ephesus. The zeal, learning, and commanding eloquence of Apollo, seconded by the more private and unobtrusive exertions of his instructors, contributed to promote among the Jews and native Ephesians, an enlarged acquaintance with the doctrines of the gospel. But his connexion with the cause of truth here, was of short continuance; for, sailing across the Ægean, he passed into Achaia,¹²⁵ where he "mightily convinced," *vehemently confuted* the Jews; becoming ultimately, accord-

¹²³ Codex Beza, Coptic and Armenian.

¹²⁴ Dr. A. Clarke.

¹²⁵ Acts, xviii. 27. Luther supposed the epistle to the Hebrews to have been written by him, chiefly because he is described as an eloquent man. The opinion is embraced by Dindorf, though without any sanction from historical testimony. — *Excursus ad J. A. Ernesti Lectiones Academicas in Epistolam ad Hebræos*, p. 1180. 8vo. Lipsiæ. 1815.

ing to Jerome, bishop of Corinth. As an eminent and successful teacher, Apollo is frequently mentioned in the apostolic writings: "*I have planted, Apollo watered.*" On one occasion his oratorical powers, rendered him innocently the cause of a schism at Corinth: "*One saith, I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollo.*"

The next visit which Paul made to Ephesus, was shortly after the departure of Apollo; and this time he continued upwards of two years.¹²⁶ We cannot suppose, that the apostle's labours were confined to a single city during this period; for, as all Asia heard the word, it is probable, that he travelled into the neighbouring districts, and laid the foundation of the other Asian churches. The place of his preaching was in the first instance the synagogue; but being expelled by the Jews, he occupied the school-house of Tyrannus.¹²⁷ It is improbable, as some maintain, that this was a Jewish academy, though schools and houses of learning were common among them, and accounted holy as well as the synagogue; because they would be as much opposed to his preaching in the one as in the other. It seems likely, that Tyrannus was a Gentile philosopher, who granted the use of his school-house as a convenient place for disputation; the attention of the apostle, owing to the obstinate prejudices of the Jews, being now principally directed to the heathen population of the city.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Acts, xix. 10.

¹²⁷ Acts, xix. 9.

¹²⁸ Some regard the word Tyrannus, as a title of office, rather than the name of an individual; because *τυραννος* signifies a king or prince. The person who accommodated Paul and his hearers,

The effects of the apostle's ministry may be thus concisely stated :

I. The Jews were hardened, and excited to opposition.

The subject of Paul's preaching is not particularly mentioned; but his usual topics—the abolition of the system of peculiarity, the dissolution of the ancient ritual, and the offer of salvation without works of law—he would doubtless proclaim; and these doctrines were likely to rouse the indignation of an assembly fond of pompous ceremonial, proud of their elective character, and jealous for the honour of the national lawgiver: “*Divers were hardened, and believed not; but spake evil of that way before the multitude.*”¹²⁹

II. A number of idolaters deserted the shrine of Diana, and embraced the gospel.

In addition to the preaching of the word, miracles were wrought, and these rapidly promoted its success. Many tales of the interposition of their divinities were current among the heathen; but they were reported only by the initiated few, and thus lay open to the suspicion of imposture. On the contrary, the miracles wrought by the apostle, came home to the senses and feelings of the multitude; for “*from his body were brought unto the sick, handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them.*”¹³⁰ The *συνδῆρια*, sudarium, a kind of handkerchief, carried in the hand in travel-

they suppose to have been a magistrate of Ephesus, one sustaining a civil office. This opinion is not probable.

¹²⁹ Acts, xix. 9.

¹³⁰ Acts, xix. 12.

ling, to wipe the face, and the *σικκίνθια*, *semicinctium*, though they formed no part of the ordinary dress of the Greeks, were frequently worn as a covering by the lower classes, were either borrowed from the apostle, or brought to him that he might touch them, to communicate a miraculous virtue.¹³¹ His fame was still further increased, by the defeat of some malignant Jews, who, enraged at his success, began in imitation of him the exorcism of evil spirits in the name of Jesus; instead, however, of respecting their adjurations, the demoniacs attacked them, and put them to flight.¹³² In our Lord's time we find some

¹³¹ Chardin observes, "It is the custom almost every where, to carry a staff in their hand; the mode of wrought handkerchiefs is also general in Arabia, in Syria, in Palestine, and in all the Turkish empire. They are wrought with a needle; and it is the amusement of the fair sex there, as among us the making of tapestry and lace. The young women make them for their fathers, their brothers, and, by way of preparation before-hand, for their spouses, bestowing them as favours on their lovers. They have them almost constantly in their hands, in those warm countries, to wipe off the sweat."—in *Harmer*. vol. ii. p. 395.

"The principal dragoman," says Dr. Clarke, "belonging to the governor, next presented to each of us an handkerchief; gifts, he said, by which infidels of rank were distinguished at their interviews with his master. The handkerchief consisted of embroidered muslin, and was inclosed in a piece of red crape."—vol. ii. p. 352.

Mr. Buckingham relates, that when in Persia, being ill, his companions attributed his sickness, to the ill wishes of a malignant enemy; to allay which, a Fakeer took some rags from his body, and deposited them in the new-made graves of some holy personages, believing that they thus acquired a virtue potent enough, to dispel the supposed evil influence. — *Travels in Assyria, Media, Persia*. p. 172.

¹³² Acts, xix. 13 — 16. These are called "vagabond Jews," *οὐκ*

exorcists, who professed to cast out devils;¹³³ and magicians were common among the Jews, who, to support their imposture, employed the name of Jehovah in their incantations, and, hence, were called, *baáley shem, masters of the name*. In the primitive church, adjurations in the name of Christ were frequent; "In it," says Cyril, "the apostles exulted, and in it they wrought miracles. Persians, Goths, &c. became martyrs for this name, and through it believers expel demons to the present day."¹³⁴ Through a process of exorcism, the candidate for church membership was required to pass, and by this ordeal he was supposed to be delivered from demoniacal agency. The catechumen being conducted to the door of the *baptisterium*, turning his face to the west, declared, *Satan, I renounce thee! I renounce all thy works; I renounce all thy pomps; I renounce all the worship of the devil*: then turning towards the east, and entering the baptisterium, he was anointed with oil, exorcised by holy persons in the name of God, which was regarded as of sufficient virtue to expel all demons, and purify the soul.¹³⁵ It is lamentable to find the beauty and simplicity of divine truth, lost in such an accumulation of absurd and ridiculous ceremonies. In an oration in praise of Cyprian, by Gregory Nazienzen, he tells us, that he was at first an idolater and a student of

Sabundus, literally a wanderer, one who has no settled place of abode. They were the "*seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests*," or, as it stands in the Codex Bezae, the sons of Skeva, a certain priest.

¹³³ Matt. xii. 27.

¹³⁴ Cyril. Cat. Dis. 10.

¹³⁵ Cyril. Dis. Myst. 1 and 2.

magic, by the assistance of which he sought to obtain the favour of a noble Christian lady, who was saved from such satanic courtship by the interposition of the Virgin Mary; and the good bishop adds, that the invoked demon entered into the lover himself, from whose influence he was not delivered until his conversion.¹³⁶ The miracles wrought by the apostle were known throughout the city; respect for his character and attention to his word were induced; and many were brought over from the impostures of paganism, to the profession of the Christian faith.

III. As an evidence of their sincerity, the Ephesian converts brought “forth fruits meet for repentance.”

“Many also of them that used curious arts, brought their books together, and burned them before all men; and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver.”¹³⁷

The curious arts here mentioned, relate to practices of sorcery and magical incantations, as the word *τελεπρη* occurs in this sense in many of the Greek writers. In this connexion Origen frequently employs it, mentioning the life of a Christian, as one free from “these curiosities;” and the accusers of Socrates, when the philosopher was brought before his judges, alleged against him, that he was “over-curious, searching what is under the earth, and what is in heaven.”¹³⁸ In the Latin version of Irenæus, the word is used relative to Simon Magus;¹³⁹ Dion Cassius affirms, with

¹³⁶ Greg. Naz. Or. et Lat. fol. — *Paris*. 1630. 2 vols.

¹³⁷ Acts, xix. 19.

¹³⁸ Plato. Apol. Socrat.

¹³⁹ Amatoria quoque et agogima, et qui dicuntur paredri, et

reference to Adrian, that he was "exceedingly addicted to curious arts, and practised divination and magic." The inhabitants of Ephesus were universally addicted to superstitious practices, having recourse to particular forms of incantation on any public or domestic emergency. It was common to wear amulets about the person, as a preventive against disease, the influence of evil spirits, and calamities of any kind: these were inscribed with strange cabalistical characters, known in antiquity by the name of "Ephesian letters," the engraving and manufacture of which was a source of considerable profit. Some of these letters, which are called "holy and sacred things," are mentioned by Hesychius, who gives us their supposed explanation: *Askion*, darkness; *Kataskion*, light; *Lix*, the earth; *Tetrax*, the year; *Damnameneus*, the sun; and *Aision*, truth. The magic influence connected with these charms, may be illustrated by the following curious relation from Suidas: "When Milesius and Ephesius wrestled at the olympic games, Milesius could not prevail, because his antagonist had the Ephesian letters bound to his heels; when this was discovered, and the letters taken away, it is reported that Milesius threw him thirty times."¹⁴⁰

The notion which has been generally entertained, that letters were of divine origin, might give rise to the idea, of their being endowed with some mysterious property, which priestcraft represented as enhanced by being placed in certain fanciful combinations.

oniropompi, et quæcunque sunt alia *perierga*, apud eos studiose exercentur. — *Iren.* lib. i. cap. 20.

¹⁴⁰ Plutarch. *Symposiac.* 7. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. v. cap. 8. Eustathius ad Homer. *Odyss.* 21.

The Greeks and Egyptians not only adopted this impression, but the rude Goths regarded their Odin as the inventor of the Runes; and, hence, in their poetry, we read of

“The letters which the great Ancient traced out :
Which the gods composed :
Which Odin, the father of the gods, engraved.”¹⁴¹

The custom of inscribing mystic characters upon the person as a safeguard, or having them engraved in the form of an amulet or charm, is of the most remote antiquity, which, in connexion with its prevalence and singular nature, seems to indicate some authoritative origin. The first mention made of a practice of this kind, is in the case of Cain, who had a *mark* set upon him, which, whatever was its nature, denoted the bearer to be placed under the immediate protection of heaven, so that no man might slay him. Many instances occur in scripture of the use of a mark or sign, as a symbol of consecration, indicating the wearer to be reserved for some particular purpose, or the object of some special favour. Of this nature was the blood sprinkled on the door-posts of Israel in Egypt, a sign that the destroying angel was not to enter, the inmates being under the divine protection. A similar preserving token is referred to in Ezekiel, ix. 4, where the “man clothed in linen,” having a “writing ink-horn by his side,” is commanded by God, to set “a mark” upon the foreheads of those who grieved for the abominations of Jerusalem. “Behold my sign!” says Job, 31. 35, according to the margi-

¹⁴¹ Bartholin. p. 647.

nal reading; or, "Behold, here is my Thau!" (a mystic mark),¹⁴² as Calmet renders it, evidently referring to some distinctive badge which he wore; and Paul, probably allusive to some acknowledged sacred sign, observes, "henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus."¹⁴³ The heathen notion, that certain influences in nature might be controlled and directed by occult signs, was an easy transition from this originally divine rite; and,

¹⁴² "Behold, here is my Thau !

Let the Almighty answer me.

Surely I would take it upon my shoulder,

And bind it as a crown to me."

Thau, the Taautic emblem of the Egyptians, the hieroglyphic of the god Thoth, was originally expressed, according to Kircher, by the simple figure of a cross, like the Greek T and the Coptic *dau*. The Hebrew *tau*, is supposed to have been derived from it, though it has deviated from it in shape. It is frequently found on the Egyptian obelisks, and was always regarded as a talisman of extraordinary potency. The original in Ezekiel is, "set a *tau* upon their foreheads," instead of "mark;" which sense the Vulgate preserves, "mark with the letter *tau* the foreheads," &c.: upon which Lowth observes, that in the parallel passage in the Septuagint, τὸ Σημειον, "a mark," should be *Tau*, Σημειον, the mark Tau. It is worthy of note, that in the Samaritan character, in which Ezekiel wrote, it is agreed among the learned, that the *tau*, was formerly cruciform, corresponding in shape with the Taautic cross and our T. From this we learn, that the crucifix was a sacred sign among the Jews as well as the Egyptians, a hieroglyphic marking, the property of the Deity. In this sense the language of Job is beautiful and appropriate:

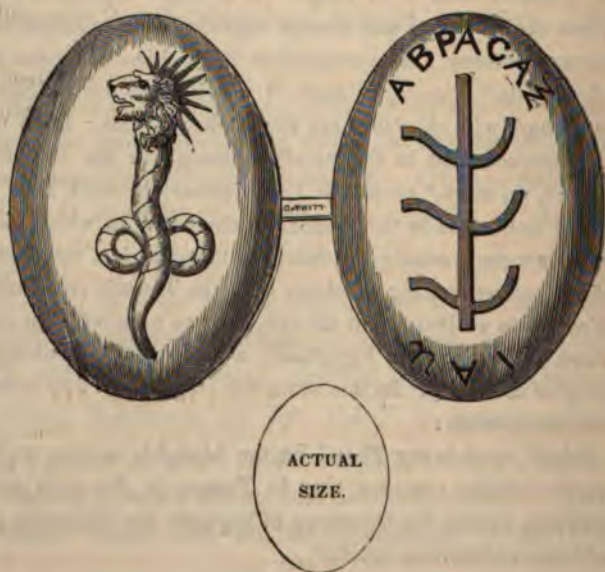
"Behold, here is my Thau ! let the Almighty answer me."

Count de Gebelin observes, that in France, in the early ages of Christianity, during the ceremony of baptism, the officiating priest said, "Crucis thaumate notare."

¹⁴³ Gal. vi. 17.

hence, the Jews themselves, in the later periods of their history, fell into the error, as also did the early Christians; and even in modern times the potency of the wizard's charm, and the fortune-teller's scrawl, is an article of vulgar belief. The phylacteries of the Jews, mentioned by our Lord, were stripes of parchment, inscribed with paragraphs of the law, which were worn on their caps and arms, and inscribed on their door-posts, to prevent the intrusion of evil agencies, as the root in the Greek, from whence the name is derived, signifying to guard or preserve, plainly shows. The Christian heretics of the second century, especially the Gnostics, used gems, inscribed with the word Abraxas, for a similar purpose;¹⁴⁴ and still do the

¹⁴⁴ The following is a Gnostic gem, a chrysophrase, in the possession of Viscount Strangford:



"curious arts," which the Ephesians abandoned, maintain their hold upon the popular mind in the east, the Brahmin affixing a mark to the forehead of Seeva's votaries, the Mohammedan defending his person with the inscription of the all-potent Allah, and the Greek imprinting the crucifix as a resistless spell.¹⁴⁵

The all-potent words Abraxas, variously written Abrasax, and Ias occur, referring to the supreme deity and Jesus. The "curious arts" of the early Christians, were condemned in the council of Laodicea, A. D. 364, can. 36; the fathers declaring, that such phylacteries or charms, were bonds and fetters to the soul, and ordering those who wore them to be cast out of the church. The practice is thus denounced by Augustine: "When we are afflicted with pains in our head, let us not run to enchanters, and fortune-tellers, and remedies of vanity. I mourn for you, my brethren; for I daily find these things done. And what shall I do? I cannot yet persuade Christians to put their trust only in Christ. With what face can a soul go unto God, that has lost the sign of Christ, and taken upon him the sign of the devil." — See *Du Cange, Glossar. sub. v. Ligaturæ and Legationes. &c.*

¹⁴⁵ The Turks carry about with them, especially in war, talismans, consisting of verses of the Koran, to which they attach extraordinary influence. Portions of St. John's gospel, were worn by the early Christians, and verses of scripture were even placed upon horses. Among the Anglo-Saxons, gems were much esteemed. King John had a large collection; and, in the sixteenth century, amulets were warehoused in large quantities, and usually worn round the neck, as a protection from pestilence, as the following item shows:

" : a hundryth wight of amletts for the neke,

xxx^s iiij^a"

Gage's Hengrave. 115.

The celebrated Nostradamus gives the following extract from a MS. poem on the virtues of gems, written by Pierre de Boniface in the fourteenth century: "The diamond renders a man invincible; the agate of India or Crete, eloquent and prudent; the amethyst resists intoxication; the cornelian appeases anger; the hyacinth provokes sleep." The famous bishop of Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste invented

The converted Ephesians, taught to regard the providence of God as over all his works, abandoned their former magical customs, and the books belonging to them, which inculcated the occult science, were destroyed: "*So mightily grew the word of the Lord and prevailed.*"¹⁴⁶

IV. Such was the success of Paul, that those interested in maintaining the popular superstition, were excited to tumult and outrage.

A number of artizans employed in making silver shrines for Diana, fearful of the loss of their trade, assembled, under the direction of Demetrius, and endeavoured to excite the populace against the abettors of the apostle. These shrines are supposed to have been models of the temple, bought either as curiosities or for the purpose of devotion. The heathens were accustomed to strike coins and medals, bearing representations of their temples; and in most of these, the gods or goddesses they worshipped, were depicted standing in the porch.¹⁴⁷ It was, also, a common practice

certain characters of wonderful power, which were inscribed upon gems, and eagerly sought after by the superstitious.

¹⁴⁶ Acts, xix. 19, 20. The sum rated at 50,000 pieces of silver; is uncertain, on account of the particular coin not being mentioned. Some suppose the Jewish shekel is meant, in which sense the word rendered *piece of silver* occurs Matt. xxvi. 15. The 50,000 shekels, at 3s. per shekel, adopting Dr. Prideaux's estimate, would, hence, amount to £7,500. of our money.

If we suppose Attic drachms to be meant, at 7½*d.* each, the sum would be £1,562. 10*s.*

The Vulgate reads 50,000 denarii—*denariorum quinquaginta millium*, which, at 7½*d.* each, is £1,614. 11*s.* 8*d.*

¹⁴⁷ In page 80 there is a medallie representation of the temple of Diana, the goddess stands in the porch, with a sort of tower upon her head.

to carry about images of their divinities, on warlike occasions or gorgeous festivals, as a kind of safeguard, which were usually placed in a frame, constructed in the shape of a sacred edifice. "*They bear him,*" says Isaiah, speaking of idol gods, "*upon the shoulder; they carry him, and set him in his place.*" Ammianus Marcellinus says of Asclepides, that whithersoever he went, he carried about with him a small silver image of Urania; and Athenæus makes mention of a "vessel," wherein images of Jupiter were placed in travelling, upon which Casaubon remarks, that "these images were put in cases, which were made like chapels." The tabernacle of Moloch, mentioned Acts, vii. 43, was doubtless a kind of cabinet, in which the "horrid king" was enclosed; and the shrines of Diana were, most probably, of the same construction and purpose. Considering the esteem in which the goddess was held, being worshipped throughout all Asia, and the magnificence of her temple, it is likely that such models were in great request; and some being made of costly materials and exquisite workmanship, formed a lucrative article of commerce. The annual games in honour of Diana, which usually brought a vast concourse of people together, were now celebrating; and the immediate cause of provocation, was the demand for models and images falling short of former anniversaries, which the artizans attributed to the apostle's preaching.



The annexed coins represent the temple of Venus at Cyprus; but frequently, as the medal in page 80, the presiding divinity appears in the porch, as in a kind of shrine or enclosure. The inscription on one, KOINON KYPION, indicates its being struck at Cyprus.

In the second book of Kings, the sacred historian when recounting the idolatrous practices of the people transported by the Assyrian monarch into the Samaritan cities, observes, that the "*men of Babylon made Succoth-Benoth*,"¹⁴⁸ which is literally rendered by Parkhurst, *the tabernacle of the daughters, or the young women*. It seems, however, very probable, that with Calmet we are to understand *Benoth*, as denoting a female idol, the Benos of the Syrians, and the Venus of the Greeks and Latins.¹⁴⁹ The heathen strangers then made booths or tents in honour of the deity they worshipped, which, however obscene the rites there practised, were erected and preserved for religious purposes, and most likely to enshrine the object of their idolatrous services. A representation of pavilions consecrated to Venus, may be seen on many ancient medals.

¹⁴⁸ 2 Kings, xvii. 30.

¹⁴⁹ The etymology of the word is thus given: *Banu*, or *Benu* of Eastern Asia; Hebrew, *Benoth*; Syrian, *Benos*; and the Greek and Latin, *Venus*.



These tents of Venus, the Succoth-Benoth of the Babylonians, the tabernacle of Moloch, and the silver shrines of Diana, mutually illustrate each other.

The procession of idols was of frequent occurrence in antiquity, and was made by the heathens a matter of much importance and ceremony. The gods were carried in chariots, niches, or miniature temples, analogous to the shrines of the Ephesian idols. Το θε

σγαλμα εον εν ΝΗΩι μικρῃ ξυλινῃ κατακεχρυσωμενῃ προεγκομίζουσι τη προτεραιῃ εσ αλλο οικημα — “The image being in a small temple of wood, gilt, they carry out the day before to

another building.”¹⁵⁰ Κατ’ ενιαυτον — παρα τοις Αιγυπτίοις τον

ΝΕΟΝ του Διου περαιουσθαι τον ποταμον εις την Λιβυην, και μεθ’ ημερας τινας παλιν επιστρεφειν, ὡς εξ Αιθιοπιας του Θεου παροντος

— “Among the Egyptians the shrine of Jupiter is annually transported over the river (Nile) into Libya,

and after some days returns, as if the god himself were come from Ethiopia.”¹⁵¹ The sacred procession

was also common among the Gauls, who, according to Sulpitius Severus, carried their gods into the

fields, protected from the profanation of vulgar eyes by a white vail. These instances may suffice to show,

in what light we are to regard the shrines of the Ephesian artizans; either as small models of the

¹⁵⁰ Herod. lib. ii. c. 63.

¹⁵¹ Diod. Siculus. lib. i.

temple, or enclosures for miniature images of the goddess.¹⁵²

The tumult raised upon this occasion, threatened with destruction the Christian cause; for, having seized two of Paul's companions, the enraged mob rushed to the theatre, either with the intention of offering them some violence, or consulting about the extinction of the sect to which they belonged. It is probable, that the latter was their object, as the theatres of the ancients, being exceedingly spacious, were frequently used for the discussion of state affairs;¹⁵³ the excited multitude, however, filled the place with their vociferations, crying out for the space of two hours, "*Great is Diana of the Ephesians.*" The vain repetitions of heathen worshippers are referred to by the Saviour, in the caution which he gave his disciples, Matt. vi. 7, an illustration of which we have in the

¹⁵² Pliny mentions models of the temple of Venus at Cnidus. lib. xxxvi. 5.— See Tacit. Ann. III. 61. Livy. l. i. At Lacedæmon there was a small temple entirely of brass, called *Chalcotoichos*, the house of brass.

Examples of the portable shrine are common in Russia, and in all the countries of the Greek church. The *ιερα* of the Greeks, says Dr. Clarke, "as well as the tabernacles of the eastern nations, were sometimes not only portable, but they were so small, that the *κιστια ιερα*, used for enclosing them, scarcely exceeded the size of the fashionable snuff-boxes now used by the *petit-maitres* of Paris and London."

¹⁵³ Tacitus remarks of Vespasian, "*Antiochensium theatrum ingressus, ubi illis consultare mos est, concurrentes et in adulatio-nem effusos alloquitur.*" "Having entered into the theatre of the Antiochians, where it was the custom to hold consultations, the people running together, and being profuse in flattery, he addressed them."

Heautontimorumenas of Terence, the ancient votaries of Baal, and the crafts-men of Ephesus.¹⁵⁴ Popular tumults were always dreaded by the Roman government; and the town-clerk came forward to dissolve the assembly, representing, that the persons accused had not broken the city laws; that if so, there was a legal tribunal to judge them; and that they themselves were guilty of violating the public peace, by being so tumultuous. “*And after the uproar had ceased, Paul called unto him the disciples and embraced them, and departed.*”¹⁵⁵

It appears evident from the preceding account of the rise of the Ephesian church, that at the departure of Paul after his two years' sojourn, some of the higher classes were either numbered among its members, or favourable to its cause. The town-clerk, from his speech in the theatre, was evidently strongly prepossessed in favour of the persecuted Christians; and the office which he held, expressed in the Syriac, as *reisha damedinato*, chief or prince of the city, probably the recorder, was one of considerable authority. Some of the “chief of Asia,” are expressly mentioned as the friends of the apostle, who interested themselves to preserve him from injury in the riot. These were the Asiarchs, persons chosen from the more opulent citizens, to preside over the games instituted in honour of the gods; and their conduct was plainly dictated

¹⁵⁴ Ter. act 5. scene 1. 1 Kings, xviii. 26. Acts, xix. 34. A passage, similar to the cry of the Ephesian populace, occurs in Aristides: “And there was a great cry, both of those who were present, and of those who were coming, shouting in that well-known form of praise, *Great is Æsculapius!* — p. 520.

¹⁵⁵ Acts, xx. 1.

by a friendly inclination to his party.¹⁵⁶ The city being a place to which men of fortune, genius, and learning resorted, as the greatest trading mart in Asia, some persons of distinction were doubtless among the early converts; and, hence, the long continuance of the apostle among them, and the care he took to preserve them from the pernicious influence of false teachers. Trophimus is expressly mentioned as an Ephesian, and it is probable that Tychicus was so likewise, though he is only mentioned as an Asiatic.¹⁵⁷ These two persons were eminent disciples of Paul; they accompanied him on many of his journeys, and conveyed several of his epistles to the churches. Trophimus, according to the Romish writers, became bishop of Arles, in Gaul, where his festival is kept on the 29th of December; but this is extremely doubtful, the tradition of the Greek church recording his martyrdom under Nero, and keeping April 14th in his honour.¹⁵⁸ The festival of St. Tychicus is celebrated by the Greeks on the 8th of December, their loose and imperfect annals regarding him as the bishop of Colophon.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ In the martyrdom of Polycarp, they ask Philip the Asiarch, to let out a lion upon him, as to that officer belonged the care of the public amusements.

¹⁵⁷ Acts, xx. 4; xxi. 9. In the Codex Bezae, both Greek and Latin, and in the Sahidic, Trophimus and Tychicus are called *Εφεσσιοι*, Ephesians, instead of *Ασιανοι*, Asiatics.

¹⁵⁸ Baronius. A. D. 62. sect. 4. Trophimus could not, as is asserted, have been left by Paul at Arles, when he went into Spain; for afterwards, when writing to Timothy, he states his having left him sick at Miletus.—2 *Tim.* iv. 20.

¹⁵⁹ Tychicus was the bearer of the epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, and the first to Timothy.

Ephesus stands intimately connected with the apostolic writings, as the place where many of them were penned, and to whose church and bishop three of them are addressed. The first epistle to the Corinthians was written here, about this period, and sent into Europe by the hands of Titus and an Ephesian Christian, whose name is not mentioned.¹⁶⁰ The following curious passage will require a brief notice:—“*If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus.*” Exposure to wild beasts was a punishment common with the Medes and Persians, who inflicted it upon Daniel; and afterwards became one of the national amusements of the Romans, for which the theatres were appropriated. Slaves and vile persons were generally cast to the enraged animals naked, while others not so criminal were introduced armed, and had their liberty if they conquered in the struggle. To suppose, however, that the apostle refers to an actual combat, is improbable; as the circumstance is not mentioned by any writer, and escape from death in such a situation would be almost impossible without the intervention of a miracle, besides Roman citizens never being subjected to such ignominy: hence, it is more likely, that this strong phraseology is employed to represent the vigilance with which he was opposed by the pagan zealots. In exactly the same manner does Ignatius speak of the fury and violence of his adversaries: “All the way from Syria to Rome, by sea and by land, by

¹⁶⁰ The inscription purports it to have been written at Philippi; but this contradicts the apostle's express statement, and is of no authority whatever: 1 Cor. xvi. 8.

night and by day, do I fight with wild beasts.”—“ I advise you to beware of beasts in the shape of men.”¹⁶¹ Such imagery is very common, both with the sacred writers and the pagan classics, and strikingly represents the conduct of the Ephesian populace, when excited by the declamatory harangue of Demetrius. It has been objected, that the apostle did not accompany the mob into the theatre, that his friends, the Asiarchs, dissuaded him from his intention of doing so; but granting this to have been the case, it does not follow that he escaped all danger of personal violence, as it plainly appears from the history, that scenes of outrage occurred previous to their proceeding thither.¹⁶²

In the course of this year, the apostle
 A. D. sailing from Assos to Tyre, appointed the
 57. elders of Ephesus to meet him at Miletus, at which port he intended to touch, not having time personally to visit them.

¹⁶¹ Ignatii. Epist. ad Rom. p. 94. — *edit. Oxon.* 1708.

¹⁶² Nicephorus Callistus quotes a tradition from the apocryphal book of the Travels of Paul, that Jerome, governor of Ephesus, condemned him to exposure to wild beasts. While in prison, two women, Tabula and Artemilla, came to him in the night, requiring baptism. Immediately the apostle shook off his bonds, went out with them to the sea-coast, and baptised them; after which he returned unperceived to his prison. When brought into the theatre, a lion was let loose upon him, which immediately lay down at his feet, as did also several other beasts. A violent storm of hail came on, and killed several of the spectators; upon which Jerome became a convert, and was baptised. — *Hist. Eccles.* lib. ii. c. 25.

Theodoret, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, and most of the ancients, appear to have understood the exposure literally. Ephesus is expressly mentioned by many writers, as a place where such amusements were common.

“And when he met with us at Assos, we took him in, and came to Mitylene. And we sailed thence, and came the next day over against Chios; and the next day we arrived at Samos, and tarried at Trogyllium; and the next day we came to Miletus:” Acts, xx. 14, 15.

Miletus was anciently one of the most illustrious cities of Ionia, and claimed to be the mother of upwards of seventy others;¹⁶³ it was the first that was settled in by the Greek colonists, and enjoyed the proud title of the bulwark of Asia. Hecataeus and Thales were numbered among its citizens; Darius and Alexander were refused admittance within its walls; and the number and size of its fleets, gave it the unrivalled empire of the ocean. Owing to the constant recession of the sea upon this part of the Asian coast, Miletus lost its maritime celebrity; its bay being converted into a plain, in common with the other sea-ports, it rapidly fell to decay. It is now an insignificant place, overgrown with thickets, and exhibiting to the stranger nothing interesting but the fragments of its theatre; the Mæander, that was once laden with its vessels, glides silently and sluggishly along; and scarcely a relic of its former greatness remains, but its modern title of Palatia, the *palaces*.¹⁶⁴ The interview which the apostle had upon

¹⁶³ Among the vestiges of the city, Chandler notices a pedestal with an inscription, beginning, “The senate and people of the city of the Milesians, the first settled in Ionia, and the mother of many and great cities both in Pontus and Egypt, and in various other parts of the world.”—*Travels*, vol. i. p. 183. *Inscript. Ant.* p. 16, 17.

¹⁶⁴ At what period Christianity was introduced we know not; but an inscription still remains, upon its ruined theatre, attesting

this occasion with the elders of Ephesus, was of the most affecting nature, and evidenced the strong attachment which his residence among them had produced. They are described as elders, but he speaks to them as appointed by the Holy Ghost *ἐπισκοποι*, overseers, or bishops, plainly showing, that there was no distinction then recognized in the church, between bishops and ordinary pastors. From the statement, "*these hands have ministered to my necessities*," it appears, that Paul had subsisted in Ephesus, by following his occupation as an artizan; and this passage is strikingly coincident with his language to the Corinthians, written from the same city, "*and labour, working with our own hands*."¹⁶⁵ He affectingly told his converts, that they should see his face no more—that after his departure, grievous wolves should enter in among the flock—and he pathetically exhorts those who had the over-sight thereof, to feed the church of God,¹⁶⁶ calling them all to witness, that he himself had not kept back any thing that was profitable for them.¹⁶⁷ "Behold here," says Calmet, "the model of a good shepherd—full of doctrine and zeal—he communicates with profusion, and yet with discretion; without jealousy, and without fear, what God had put in his heart, and what charity inspires." "A good shepherd," says St. Bernard, "should always have abundance of bread in his scrip, and his dog under command: his *dog* is

its influence: "Holy Jehovah, preserve the town of the Milesians, and all the inhabitants."

¹⁶⁵ Acts, xx. 34; 1 Cor. iv. 12.

¹⁶⁶ Acts, xx. 28.

¹⁶⁷ Acts, xx. 20.

his *zeal*, which he must *lead*, *order*, and *moderate*; his scrip full of bread, is his mind full of useful knowledge; and he should ever be in readiness to give nourishment to his flock."

To the "saints at Ephesus," one of the most valuable epistles in the scripture canon is addressed, supposed to have been written by Paul, in the year 60 or 61,¹⁶⁸ during his confinement at Rome. Having heard of their "faith and love," he wrote to acquaint them with the joy which the intelligence gave him; and, at the same time, to caution them against the artful insinuations of the false teachers, whose introduction he anticipated in his address at Miletus. The fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters of the epistle, are designated by Theodoret, the "moral admonition," containing a complete manual of Christian practice; and, hence, as of universal application, the letter is inscribed not only to the Ephesian church, but to the "believers in Christ Jesus," to all the brethren in the proconsular Asia. The style of the apostle, like his subject, is lofty and elevated; he discusses no particular point in the Christian verity, but grapples with the whole mystery of godliness—in opposition to the occult doctrines of the Greeks, he brings forward the gospel mysteries—and, in the language of the poet, into the "heaven of heavens, presumes an earthly guest." The purpose of God, before the foundation of the world, in the redemption of his people—the majesty of Christ, placed above all created intelligences—the stability of the church, built upon that

¹⁶⁸ Barrington, Lardner, and Michaëlis, date the epistle A. D. 61; Bible Chronology, A. D. 64.

corner-stone, defying the storms of human passion, and the assaults of human power—and the manifestation by it of the divine wisdom to superior spirits, constitute the theme of the writer, which he invests with an appropriate character of deep and awful grandeur. Hence, Jerome justly observes—*nullam epistolam Pauli tanta habere mysteria, tam reconditis sensibus involuta, quos et apostolus nasse se gloriatur*: and Grotius, noticing its sublimity of expression, remarks, *rerum sublimitatem, adæquens verbis sublimioribus, quam ulla unquam habuit lingua humana*.

In the following passages, the apostle is supposed to refer to Ephesian localities. “*Sealed with the spirit of promise* :” i. 13.—A seal among the worshippers of Diana, was a sign of initiation; the neophyte, upon his introduction into the mysteries, receiving a seal or ring from the priests, as a sacred token. “*The church—his body—the fulness of him who filleth all in all* :” i. 23.—The goddess of the Ephesians was the image of a woman, with many breasts, a representation of *fulness, support, sufficiency*. “*All the building fitly framed together* :” ii. 21.—Proud of their famous temple, as the pagan inhabitants were, the converts are here reminded, that they formed, as a church in connexion with other believers, a far more magnificent structure. “*The unsearchable riches of Christ* :” iii. 8.—Here, as Chandler observes, the apostle tacitly contrasts himself with the priests of Diana: they were the keepers of the temple in which her treasures were deposited; but to him was committed a treasure infinitely more precious, the riches of Christ, to be exhibited and dispensed. “*The*

breadth, and length, and depth, and height :" iii. 18. — These are the properties of a building, and are applied to the church as a temple, referring to that of the heathen goddess, which Pliny tells us, being built on marshy ground, vast labour was required to secure a proper foundation for it: to this fabric the more magnificent structure of the church is compared. "*Put off the old man — and that ye put on the new man :*" iv. 22. 24. — In the ancient theatrical representations, the actors assumed and laid aside the distinctive dresses of the characters they performed; and in the festivals of Bacchus, the Ephesians ran about the streets, disguised in masks and other habiliments, which they put off when the festival closed. "*Have no fellowship,*" &c. : v. 11. — The Greeks used this word, to denote a participation in their religious rites and ceremonies; and the injunction forbids the Ephesians an association with the fellowships of their heathen countrymen. "*Works of darkness,*" &c. : v. 11. — The heathen mysteries are so called, because they were performed by the initiated in the night, and had no witnesses but those engaged in the abominable rites. "*Be not drunk with wine :*" v. 18. — In the celebration of the Bacchanalian rites, the heathens, in a state of intoxication, committed the grossest extravagances, reducing themselves to a level with madmen: "*est mota insania vino.*" *Met.* lib. iii. "*Giving thanks, for all things, to God, even the Father :*" v. 20. — Ceres and Bacchus were regarded by the idolaters, as the dispensers of all earthly good, and hymns of praise in their honour were sung during their festivals, Bacchus being called Liber Pater: the Ephesian Christians are, however, directed to honour

God, the only real Parent of all good, and Father of his creatures. "*We wrestle—against principalities and powers,*" &c. : vi. 12.—With great propriety the apostle thus addresses himself to the Ephesians, as their city was a place celebrated for magical incantations and curious arts."¹⁶⁹

"*Written from Rome, unto the Ephesians, by Tychicus.*"

Ephesus honoured with the presence, miracles, and written instructions of the great apostle, was also favoured with the ministrations of his young companion Timothy, whom all antiquity recognises as the first bishop of the church. The mournful intimation given by Paul, with tears, during the Milesian interview, that grievous wolves would break in upon the flock, soon began to be realized; false Judaizing teachers appeared, spreading abroad their dangerous heresies, whom Timothy was directed to oppose; and needing the lessons of experience, the apostle wrote an epistle, to instruct him in his momentous duties.¹⁷⁰ It is the policy of the adversary, to be most active where religion most flourishes; and not unfrequently have his machinations succeeded in beclouding the fair morning

¹⁶⁹ Horne, Macknight, Chandler, &c.

¹⁷⁰ The time of Timothy's settlement, and the date of this epistle, have been subjects of much discussion. The following passage is the only direct clue to guide us: "*As I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia, so do.*" When Paul went into Macedonia after the riot of Demetrius, the only time mentioned of his going thither from Ephesus, Timothy was not with him. He must have visited Ephesus, then, with Timothy, after the Milesian interview; and upon this supposition, the epistle is dated about the year 64 or 65.

f spiritual prosperity ; envy has been excited, leading to strife and division ; pride has been fostered, producing an exaltation "above measure ;" and when hostility from without has failed, treachery has thus been implanted within. The disturbers of the church at Ephesus are mentioned by name, Hymeneus, Alexander, and Philetus ; the two former of whom, in a passage deserving observation, the apostle declares he had delivered over unto Satan, to teach them not to blaspheme.¹⁷¹ That this was not excommunication, appears evident from its being done without the knowledge or consent of the church ; and the case is probably analogous to the punishment of the incestuous person in the Corinthian church : "*Deliver such an one to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.*"¹⁷² The apostles, it is observed, frequently exercised their miraculous powers upon the persons of notorious delinquents, inflicting diseases for their reformation ; and even punishing with death, to give a salutary warning to others. Accordingly many of the ancients supposed, that the body of the incestuous man was afflicted with some painful disease, which was removed upon his repentance ; the wasting or destruction of the flesh, being sanctified to the salvation of the spirit.¹⁷³ The Ephesian false teachers were not, however, re-

¹⁷¹ 1 Tim. i. 20.

¹⁷² 1 Cor. v. 5.

¹⁷³ This was the interpretation of Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Beza ; but Beza and the Latins, understand by the "*destruction of the flesh*," the destruction of the offender's pride and lascivious passions. The former opinion is, however, more consonant with the apostle's threatenings and design.

formed by the punitive infliction which befel them; for, in a subsequent epistle to Timothy, they are mentioned, as still seeking to dim the lustre of sacred truth with the shades of error and schism. The notions taught by these disturbers are thus characterized: "fables," probably invented to promote the observance of the Mosaic institute as essential to salvation; "endless genealogies," or an endeavour to trace a lineal descent from Abraham, as a sufficient title to every spiritual blessing; "vain jangling" about the letter of the law to the neglect of the spirit; and "oppositions of science falsely so called," or the publication of doctrines subversive of the truth and influence of the gospel. To preserve the church from the dangers with which it was threatened, Timothy was exhorted to show himself "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed;" and by the circumspection of his conduct, and the fidelity of his ministry, to counteract the insidious designs of the intriguing Judaizers. The relation which he sustained at this time towards the Ephesian brethren, was not that of pastor or bishop, but an office closely allied to that of evangelist. A short time afterwards, another letter was sent to him from Paul, which is regarded by the general voice of the church as the last epistle which he wrote. That Timothy was still in Ephesus at the receipt of this, we may gather from the following circumstances:

I. He is directed to avoid the vain babbling of Hymeneus, and to be on his guard against Alexander, the heretical teachers mentioned in the first epistle.¹⁷⁴

II. The apostle salutes the family of Onesiphorus,

¹⁷⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 16, 17, 18; iv. 15.

who appear to have generally resided at Ephesus.¹⁷⁵ In addition to the heretical notions already mentioned, another error was propagated by Philetus, who asserted, with a view to conciliate the Greek philosophical sects, that the resurrection had already happened.¹⁷⁶ Of this perverter no further mention is made in scripture; but his peculiar dogma was received by a large number of converts, and became afterwards a prominent feature of Gnosticism. The doctrine of the resurrection of the body, as taught by Christ and his disciples, received a figurative interpretation; and was affirmed to mean only a spiritual deliverance from ignorance and error, by the influence of the gospel. There was no article of the Christian faith so offensive to the sophists of antiquity, as that of the resurrection; because it at once subverted one of their favourite theorems. They regarded the present degraded state in which man is found, and the evil passions to which he is subject, as arising from the connexion of the spirit with matter; they looked forward to its removal from the obnoxious vehicle, as the commencement of an era of bright and sunny existence: and, therefore, the notion of its again returning to inhabit a material organization, was likely to excite their opposition and contempt.¹⁷⁷ The Athenians heard Paul patiently,

¹⁷⁵ 2 Tim. i. 18.

¹⁷⁶ 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18.

¹⁷⁷ Pliny classes it among impossible things, which even God cannot accomplish—"revocare defunctos," to call back the dead to life. Celsus calls it "the hope of worms, a very filthy and abominable as well as impossible thing: it is that which God neither can

until he touched upon this topic, when they began to ridicule the man who could entertain and advocate the supposition. To meet the views of the philosophers, and remove their prejudices, the exposition of the doctrine alluded to was first promulgated; and, hence, many of the founders of succeeding heresies, availed themselves of it, to increase their adherents, and to strengthen their cause.¹⁷⁸

The epistles to Timothy throw considerable light upon the state of the Ephesian church; and introduce us to an acquaintance with some of its distinguished members. The believers, with but few exceptions, withstood the seductions of their false brethren; and the purity of the faith, was preserved from the corruption with which it was threatened. At this period of outward persecution and internal strife, the charge of the church was an important and difficult task; and Timothy needed the wise and animating directions of the apostle, successfully to oppose the errors, and baffle the designs of his adversaries. Among those who were eminent for their Christian fidelity and attainments, the family of Onesiphorus is ex-

nor will do, being base and contrary to nature."—*Orig. cont. Cels.* lib. v. This objection of ancient philosophy, the apostle Paul meets and refutes, in the fifteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, by stating the difference that will exist between the qualities of the body that dies, and the body that is raised: "It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory," &c.

¹⁷⁸ It was adopted by Marcion: "Non carnis sed animæ resurrectionem esse credendum." We are not to believe the resurrection of the body, but of the soul.—*Epiphanius Heres.* 42. Irenæus ascribes it to the Gnostics: "Esse resurrectionem a mortuis agnitionem ejus, quæ ab ipsjs dicitur veritatis."—lib. ii. c. 37.

pressly mentioned; and an affecting memorial of their services is introduced in the last epistle.¹⁷⁹ During his last residence in Ephesus, the apostle had experienced the kind attentions of Onesiphorus; and meeting with him a second time when a prisoner at Rome, he received from him the same sympathy and support, which he acknowledged by an affectionate salutation of his household, and an appropriate prayer for the spiritual welfare of its head. This individual is made, by the tradition of the Greeks, bishop of Colophon and of Cesarea; and, according to the Roman martyrology, on December 16th, he suffered for the faith on the banks of the Hellespont, by the command of the proconsul Adrian.

The believers in Ephesus were now deprived for a season of the presence and labours of Timothy, who, according to the apostle's request, came to Rome, to attend him in his last hours, and receive his dying injunctions.¹⁸⁰ Of the period of his return, and of the state of the church in his absence, we have no memorials.

About the year 68, the churches of Asia Minor received considerable accessions, when the storm that subverted the polity of the Jews was raging in Judea. The Christians resident in that country began to quit it, as the signs of the expected retribution appeared; the church at Jerusalem was dissolved; and the fugitives generally flocked to find refuge among their western brethren. It is conjectured, that John at this period came to Ephesus; and the apostle Paul having

¹⁷⁹ 2 Tim. i. 16, 17, 18; iv. 19.

¹⁸⁰ 2 Tim. iv. 21. "*Do thy diligence to come before winter.*"

fallen beneath the axe of Nero, upon him the management of the Christian societies would principally devolve. That the evangelist did not come into Asia during the life of Paul, appears certain from the omission of his name in the epistles of the latter; for had he been at Ephesus, or in its neighbourhood, when the letters to Timothy and the other churches were written, some salutation would undoubtedly have been sent. The dispersion of the apostles is placed by Origen in the first year of the Jewish war; and Thomas, it is said, though without certain evidence, then went into Parthia, Andrew into Syria, Peter into Italy, and John into the Lesser Asia.

Ancient tradition is reported by Irenæus and Eusebius, to relate that John wrote his three catholic epistles at Ephesus. The date of the first of these is pointed out, evidently antecedent to the destruction of Jerusalem, by that affecting monition referring to its approach, "*Young children, it is the last hour.*"¹⁸¹ We ascribe, therefore, the apostle's arrival and first residence in the city, to the interval between the commencement of the Jewish war, and the final subjugation of Palestine. The person to whom the second letter is addressed, the elect lady, the lady Electa, or Cyria the elect, is not known, or the place where she resided; but, from the proposal to visit her soon, it is likely that she was some eminent Christian matron in the neighbourhood of Ephesus.¹⁸² The presence of

¹⁸¹ 1 Eph. ii. 18.

¹⁸² Ancient commentators thought a church intended, figuratively spoken of as the "lady;" but this notion is generally rejected by the moderns. Newcome, Wakefield, and Macknight, read it, "to

one so eminent for his devotion to the truth as John, would tend to check the schemes of the heretical teachers; and to preserve the faith, which his illustrious predecessor had planted in its native purity and vigour.

It is affirmed by many of the fathers, that John was accompanied into Asia by the Virgin Mary, who took up her abode in Ephesus, where she is reported to have died, and been buried. The sacred narrative plainly intimates, that, after the Saviour's decease, she became an inmate in the household of his beloved follower, who, in obedience to his last request, took her to his own house.¹⁸³ But the whole of her subsequent history, is involved in complete uncertainty; for the testimonies of the ancients are at variance, as to the fact of her having lived to leave Judea with the evangelist. The bishops of Jerusalem gave the honour of her burial to a place near Gethsemane; and a tomb, raised by the pious care of devotees upon the spot, was transported by the emperor Marcian to Constantinople, under the impression that it contained her sacred remains.¹⁸⁴ The œcumenical council, held at Ephesus

the elect lady," like our authorised version; Calmet, the Vulgate, and others, render it, "to the lady Electa," regarding *Εκλεκτή* as a proper name; while Schleusner and Roseumüller, translate the inscription, "Cyria the elect," interpreting *Κυρία* as a proper name.

¹⁸³ John, xix. 26. Epiph. Hæres. 78. Cyril. Alex. in Johan. lib. xii.

¹⁸⁴ Niceph. lib. ii. c. 23; lib. xv. c. 14. Upon this tomb there was a figure of the virgin engraved, which was piously believed not to be the work of human hands. Her likeness has been in great request, both in ancient and modern times; and the original painter is said to have been Luke, though the gospel history makes no

in the fifth century, contend for her death and burial there; and report, that the cathedral of the city was dedicated to her name.¹⁸⁵

In the titles of two manuscripts of John's gospel, it is expressly stated to have been written and published at Ephesus. The Syriac version in Walton's Polyglott, designates it,

A. D. "*The Holy Gospel, the preaching of St.*
97.¹⁸⁶ *John, which he delivered in Greek, and*
 published at Ephesus."

And in the Persian version it is entitled,

 "*The Gospel of John, one of the twelve apostles,*
 which was spoken in the Greek-Roman tongue, at
 Ephesus."

It is probable, that the persons who authenticated it, in the closing observation, "*we know that his testimony is true,*" were some of the principal Christians resident in the city.¹⁸⁷

We have now brought down our notices of the progress of the gospel in Ephesus, to the period when

mention of his possessing so valuable an accomplishment. Nicephorus gives us in writing a tolerably minute picture: "She was of a moderate stature, or, according to some, rather below the ordinary stature of women; her complexion was of the colour of wheat; her hair fair; her eyes lively; the eye-ball yellowish, or olive-colour; her eye-brows black and semicircular; her nose pretty long; her lips red; her hands and fingers large; her air grave, simple, and modest; her clothes neat, without pride or ostentation, and of the natural colour of the wool."

¹⁸⁵ Concil. Ephes. Homil. iii. Concil. Lab. p. 574.

¹⁸⁶ Chrysostom and Epiphanius; and among the moderns, Dr. Mill, Fabricius, Le Clerc, and Tomline, date John's gospel in the year 97.

¹⁸⁷ John, xxi. 24.

the Apocalypse was published, in which an express divine revelation was made to its church and minister. The opinion, that Timothy was the "angel of the church" at this period, is supported by many names of considerable authority, though it must be confessed to be extremely doubtful. An ecclesiastical tradition, places his death in the year 97, and represents his being martyred near the temple of Diana, during a pagan festival, being slain with clubs and stones whilst preaching against idolatry.¹⁸⁸ If any credit is to be attached to this story, it is in the highest degree probable, that Timothy was the presiding minister through whom the church is addressed. On the other hand it is argued, that the relation is very uncertain; and that it is not likely, that one so highly commended by Paul, in his epistles, should receive so severe a censure as is here dictated. But this last objection is at once removed, by the consideration, that the angels, or presidents, are not addressed personally; and that their particular state is not described, but the communities committed to their care. Upon the whole, we must leave the opinion adverted to involved in uncertainty, though the weight of evidence undoubtedly inclines in its favour.

The epistles to the seven churches, have been subject to much fanciful exposition, and have been involved in deep prophetic mystery. A hidden mystical meaning has been ascribed to the Greek name of each city: Bede finds *myrrh* in the word

¹⁸⁸ Photius. Cod. 254. M. de Tillemont. tom. ii. p. 161. His disciples carried him, according to the report, to a mountain near the city (Mount Prion), where he was buried.

Smyrna; and this strange extravagance has been adopted, to illustrate the successive character of the universal church. Another opinion, equally as unsupported, though not so wild, is, that the description of the Asian churches, prophetically delineates the character of the universal church, divided into seven succeeding periods, extending from the age of the apostles, to the final consummation of all things. This notion, broached by the monkish writers of the middle ages, has been largely asserted and vindicated by Vitringa; and many respectable writers of a more recent date, have appeared in its behalf. The interpreter adopting this hypothesis, involves himself in inextricable difficulties; for no type appears in any of these communications, of that time of mental darkness, priestcraft, and religious foolery, which preceded the reformation; and it is at once repugnant to all the disclosures of revealed truth, to suppose, that the last period of the church's history will synchronize with the description given of the ancient Laodiceans. The address to the angel of the church at Laodicea, the last church mentioned, is applied by Vitringa to his own times; but this era cannot be recognised as the closing age of the church, for, previous to the termination of its earthly existence, the prophetic page distinctly announces the universal prevalence of Christian truth. Such a scheme of interpretation is not only fanciful, but unwarrantable and dangerous; it gives a license to the excited speculatist, to plead his hidden sense in behalf of any theory he may devise; and it is, therefore, a subject of regret, that any imposing authorities should have sanctioned attempts, to

perplex the plain and literal statements of scripture, with mystic references and spiritual significations.

I. The address of the Divine visiter, commences with a description of his person and peculiar office. "*Unto the angel of the church of Ephesus write: These things, saith he that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand, who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks.*"¹⁸⁹ In the vision described in the preceding chapter, he is represented as standing in the midst of the golden lamps; but now, in the act of superintendence and visitation, he is described walking in the midst of his churches.

II. The Ephesian Christians are commended for their orthodoxy, patience in persecution, and perseverance in the truth. They had "laboured" in the cause of Christ, and not "fainted;" "tried them which say, they are apostles and are not, and found them liars;" and the supreme inspector, particularly mentions with approval their hatred of the "deeds of the Nicolaitanes."¹⁹⁰ Upon this church heresy had as yet made no impression; its members had been happily preserved from the deadly poison; and been enabled to detect the devices and expose the deceit of those, who falsely assumed the character of inspired messengers.

III. But though the Ephesians were thus sound in matters of faith and discipline, they are charged with having "left their first love;" the fervour of

¹⁸⁹ Rev. ii. 1. Hilary in Psalm cxxix, Basil in ep. 191, Nazienzen Orat. 31 and 32, and Jerome in Matt. xviii, thought that angels literally were appointed, for the protection of the churches which are here addressed.

¹⁹⁰ For an account of this sect, see under Chapter 6.

their piety had abated, their zeal had slackened, and their religious affections deteriorated. It is generally the case, that the first stages of the Christian life, are marked with a stronger degree of feeling, than what is manifested when the individual comes under the discipline of an improved judgment and enlightened understanding. The change which the mind experiences, when humbled into a conviction of its depravity, melted into penitence on that account, and raised into the confidence of faith, naturally produces an extraordinary excitement, which in some measure subsides, when the impressions lose their novelty, and the transition becomes familiar. The state of the new convert, at his first separation from the world, and entrance into the region of spiritual enjoyment, is like that of the wayfarer, emerging from a wild and tenantless desert into a land of fertility and beauty; the feelings are called into lively exercise, and the mind occupied and absorbed with rapturous emotions. It was not, however, the decline of this excess of excitement, merely of which the Ephesians were guilty; the severity of the reproof, and the punishment with which they were threatened, indicate a decay in the *quality* as well as the *quantity* of their religious affections. They were becoming formal and lethargic; lapsing into a state of spiritual supineness; and though the form of godliness still retained its place in the head, its vital power had but an enfeeble hold upon the heart.

IV. An exhortation is given to the church to reform, with a solemn warning of punishment, in case of disobedience: to "remember," "repent," "and do

thy first works," is the command; or the divine inspector will come again as a judge, and remove the "candlestick."

It appears from this divine communication, that though the state of the Ephesians might be completely satisfactory to a superficial observer, yet the great head of the church had discovered symptoms of decline. Pure in practice, correct in discipline, and Christian in sentiment as she was, one of the brightest features in her character was beginning to be defaced; her love was on the wane. The pointed charge, the admonition, and the tremendous threatening, had, however, the effect designed; and from the testimony of Ignatius we may gather, that the church was roused from her lethargy, and excited to holy diligence by the divine rebuke. But a subsequent era will bring us to contemplate, an increased and strongly marked degeneracy and corruption; when Ephesus was deprived of both "candlestick" and minister; when he who once "walked" in the midst of her with delight, came to execute his long-issued threat; and create amid Mohammedan superstition and tyranny, a famine of the word.

Though the time and manner of Timothy's death is uncertain, yet it appears probable, that his immediate successor in the charge of the Ephesian church was Onesimus, who is mentioned as being its bishop in one of the epistles of Ignatius, A. D. written when on his journey to Rome, in 107. the time of Trajan. This was in the beginning of the second century, only ten years after the reputed martyrdom of Timothy, which, if it occurred then, renders it likely that Onesimus was the

second pastor. It is not easy to determine, who this individual was ; but considerable weight attaches itself to the opinion of Grotius, who regards him as the same with the fugitive slave, in whose behalf Paul interceded by epistle to Philemon. There is indeed no authority beyond the name for this supposition ; but as it beautifully illustrates the apostle's anxiety on his account, and the intimation he gives, that his flight happened providentially, to bring him under the influence of the gospel, as a preparative for future usefulness in the church, we are unwilling to abandon it.¹⁹¹ It appears evident, that the runaway slave stood high in the estimation of Paul ; and perhaps the impression given by the omniscient Spirit, that he was selected for special purposes, led him to recommend him to the good will of the Colossians, and solicit with such earnestness and affection the forgiveness of his deserted master.¹⁹² If we date the epistle to Philemon, sometime in the year 62, and reckon the age of Onesimus then to have been thirty, he must have been greatly advanced in years, when he ministered over the flock at Ephesus.¹⁹³

When Ignatius was on his journey from Antioch to Rome, deputies from the Asian churches met him on the way, to administer consolation in the prospect of martyrdom ; and among the rest, he was visited at Smyrna by Onesimus and some delegates from Ephesus. In return for this mark of Christian respect

¹⁹¹ Phile. 15.

¹⁹² Coloss. iv. 9.

¹⁹³ In the Apostolical Constitutions, Onesimus is mentioned as the bishop of Berea ; but the writing is of no authority whatever. The Roman martyrology places his feast Feb. 16th ; but the Greeks celebrate it Dec. 15.

and sympathy, he addressed an epistle to the church, which is still extant, and though considerably interpolated, we may deduce from it several important particulars respecting its state. The title is as follows :

“Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus (a bearer of God, or borne by God),¹⁹⁴ to the church which is at Ephesus in Asia, most deservedly happy ; being blessed through the greatness and fulness of God the Father, and predestinated before the world began, that it should be always with an enduring and unchangeable glory ; being united and chosen through his true passion, according to the will of the Father, and Jesus Christ, our God ; all happiness, by Jesus Christ, and his undefiled grace.”

It is important to observe the striking testimony we have here, to the doctrine of the divine nature of Christ, as it so clearly contradicts the often repeated notion of the Unitarianism of the early fathers. It was impossible, that Ignatius should be unacquainted with the genuine doctrine of the apostles upon this subject ; he had enjoyed opportunities of hearing from their own lips the tenets they promulgated : and it is morally certain, that he would not have spoken to the Ephesians, who had possessed similar opportunities, of “Jesus Christ our God,” had it not been consistent with apostolic usage and sentiment.

“I approve in God of the well-beloved name, which ye have justly obtained by faith and love in Jesus Christ

¹⁹⁴ *Traj.* “Pray, who is Theophorus? *Ign.* He who has Christ in his breast. — *Traj.* And thinkest thou not, that gods reside in us also, who fight for us against our enemies?” — *Acts of Ignatius.*

our Saviour. Being imitators of God, having animated yourselves by the blood of God, ye have performed perfectly the congenial work."

The expression, the *blood of God*, though undoubtedly very strong, was common with many of the fathers; and renders it probable, that the text in Acts as it stands in our version is the true reading. Clement, of Alexandria, speaks of the "power of God the Father, and the *blood of God* the Son;" and Tertulian expressly affirms, "I well know that we are not our own, but bought with a price; and what kind of price? The *blood of God*." The passage in which the phrase occurs in scripture, is in the address of Paul to the Ephesian elders; and it is worthy of observation, that the epistle of Ignatius, in which it is again used, was a letter sent to the same church. Modern Unitarians, who claim the testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity in behalf of their notions, have ventured upon the most rash and unfounded assertions, as to the statements in its records; for the early fathers assert the essential divinity of Christ, in the same peculiar and decisive manner as their immediate inspired predecessors. We have here a striking proof, that no error or misconception upon this vital point, had as yet been introduced among the Ephesians; and that their report of the testimony of the apostles, which many among them who were at this period alive had heard, and which it was impossible for them to mistake, was fully confirmative of the claims of the founder of their religion to divinity.

Onesimus is highly eulogised in the epistle, and the deacons who accompanied him to Smyrna:

“For hearing that I came bound from Syria, for the common name and hope, trusting, through your prayers, to fight with beasts at Rome; that so by suffering I may become indeed the disciple of him, who gave himself to God an offering and sacrifice for us (ye hastened to see me.) I received, therefore, in the name of God, your whole multitude in Onesimus; who, by inexpressible love, is ours, but, according to the flesh, is your bishop: whom I beseech you by Christ Jesus to love, and that you would all strive to be like unto him. And blessed be God, who has granted unto you, who are so worthy of him, to enjoy such an excellent bishop.

“For what concerns my fellow-servant Burrhus, and your most blessed deacon, in things pertaining to God; I entreat you, that he may tarry longer, both for yours and your bishop’s honour. And Crocus also, worthy both our God and you, whom I have received as the pattern of your love, has in all things refreshed me, as the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ shall also refresh him; together with Onesimus, and Burrhus, and Eupius, and Fronto, in whom I have, as to your charity, seen all of you. And may I always have joy of you, if I shall be worthy of it.”

This is a valuable testimony to the amiable character of the pastor, and the Christian conduct and spirit of his deacons: the church under such officers was highly favoured, and that a due improvement was made appears from the annexed passages:

“And indeed Onesimus himself does greatly commend your good order in God, that you all live according to the truth, and that no heresy dwells among you. For neither do ye hearken to any one more than to Jesus Christ speaking to you in truth.

“For some there are who carry about the name of Christ in deceitfulness, but do things unworthy of God, whom ye must flee as ye would many wild beasts. For

they are ravening dogs, who bite secretly : against whom ye must guard yourselves, as men hardly to be cured. Wherefore, let no man deceive you ; as indeed neither are ye deceived, being wholly the servants of God. For inasmuch as there is no contention nor strife among you, to trouble you, ye must needs live according to God's will. Nevertheless, I have heard of some who have passed by you, having perverse doctrine : whom ye did not suffer to sow among you ; but stopped your ears, that ye might not receive those things that were sown by them."

The following admonitions are beautiful and appropriate, and worthy of an apostolical father :

"Pray also without ceasing for other men. For there is hope of repentance in them, that they may attain unto God. Let them, therefore, at least be instructed by your works, if they will be no other way. Be ye mild at their anger ; humble at their boasting ; to their blasphemies return your prayers ; to their error, your firmness in the faith : when they are cruel, be ye gentle ; not endeavouring to imitate their ways. (Let us be their brethren in all kindness and moderation, but let us be followers of the Lord.) That so no herb of the devil may be found in you ; but ye may remain in all holiness and sobriety, both of body and spirit, in Christ Jesus.

"The last times are come upon us ; let us, therefore, be very reverent, and fear the long-suffering of God, that it be not to us unto condemnation. For let us either fear the wrath that is to come, or let us love the grace that we at present enjoy ; that by the one or other of these, we may be found in Christ Jesus unto true life."

It is evident from this epistle, that the piety of the Ephesians was in a lively flourishing state ; and it is pleasing to meet with an authentic record of the salutary effect produced by the warning letter of the apoc-

alyptic writer. Though visited in common with the other churches by seducers, endeavouring to excite heresies and strife, yet they maintained a pure attachment to the faith, were at peace one with another, and animated with their "first love," they afforded a beautiful example of the gracious and elevating influence of Christian truth. They are spoken of, as "spiritual temples full of Christ, full of holiness, adorned in all things with the commands of Christ;" and Ignatius expresses his ardent desire, to be found at last in the lot of the Christians at Ephesus.¹⁹⁵

The interval between the time of Onesimus and the close of the second century, with reference to Ephesus, is a period of uncertainty and darkness, in which scarcely any memorials can be found, to determine the advancement or decline of the church. In the absence of all historical information it is useless to conjecture; but the decay of religion, and the almost total absence of a Christian spirit at a posterior period, point out to us the gradual decline of the influence of evangelical truth during this era. It is natural to suppose, that the Ephesians, from their high character and importance, would be engaged in the controversy, which began to be agitated, between the western churches and the Asiatics, about the time of observing Easter; especially as they soon afterwards took the lead among the easterns, in opposing the aggression of the Roman bishop, who upon this point first advanced his haughty claims to universal dictatorship. Controversy is not friendly to the interests of religion; it has too often lost its humble and unobtrusive cha-

¹⁹⁵ Ignatii Epist. ad Eph.

racter when brought into the arena of debate ; and to their numerous and warm disputations must be attributed, the speedy decline and extinction of the piety of the early Christians. There is, however, one circumstance, which is of a nature too interesting to be passed over, and that is, the arrival of Justin Martyr, one of the most distinguished luminaries of Christianity in Ephesus, which produced his celebrated dialogue with Trypho the Jew. We are not informed as to the object of his visit, whether it was connected with ecclesiastical affairs, or the investigation of sacred truth, or a mere visit of friendship ; but, as it took place after his apology to Antoninus Pius, and before his second address to M. Antoninus Philosophus, its date was about the year 142.

During his visit at Ephesus, Justin was walking one morning in the Xystum, where he was met by Trypho,¹⁹⁶ accompanied with six other Jews, who taking him for a philosopher by his robe,
 A. D. were desirous of entering into conversation
 142. with him. Justin expressed his surprise to
 Trypho, that he who had Moses and the
 prophets to consult, should wish for information from
 a Gentile philosopher ; and then he proceeded to state,
 that he had studied different philosophical systems,
 but found neither peace nor satisfaction until he be-
 came acquainted with the Christian religion. This
 acknowledgement excited the ridicule of the compan-
 ions of Trypho ; but he affected to commiserate Jus-
 tin's misfortunes, in falling into such a gross delusion,

¹⁹⁶ Trypho is mentioned by Eusebius as the most eminent Jew of that time.

and exhorted him either to go back to his former philosophical system, or to become a proselyte to the Jewish religion. Justin immediately pledged himself to demonstrate the truth of Christianity; but Trypho's companions again beginning to ridicule, he was going to retire from the place, when Trypho requesting him to tarry, he assented upon the condition, that his companions should either leave them or be silent. Four of the Jews agreed to this proposition, and the rest retired. In the middle of the stadium there were some stone seats, to which they proceeded, and commenced a discussion of the merits of the Christian faith. The dialogue being interrupted by the night, was renewed in the same place the next day, but in the presence of additional spectators.

The dialogue of Justin with Trypho is the most valuable portion of his works, and contains an exposition of the erroneous opinions of the Jews respecting the law; a declaration of the real nature of Jesus Christ, and that he became incarnate for the salvation of men; and a statement of the calling of the Gentiles, prefigured by the law, and foretold by the prophets. "To me it appears," says Trypho, "a paradox incapable of any sound proof, to say, that this Christ was God before all time, and that he was made man and suffered; and to assert that he was any thing more than a man, and of men, appears not only paradoxical but foolish." "I know," replied Justin, "that it appears paradoxical, and particularly to those of your nation, who are determined neither to know nor do the will of God, but to follow the inventions of your teachers, as God declares of you. However, if I could not demonstrate

that he existed before all time, being God the Son of the Maker of the universe, and that he was made man of the virgin; yet, as this personage was shown by every sort of proof to be the Christ of God, be the question as it may respecting his divinity and humanity, you have no right to deny that he is the Christ of God, even if he were only mere man: you could only say, that I was mistaken in my idea of his character. For there are some who call themselves Christians, who confess him to be the Christ, but still maintain, that he is a mere man only; *with whom I agree not, neither do most of those who bear that name agree with them*, because we are commanded by Christ himself, not to obey the precepts of men, but his own injunctions, and those of the holy prophets." From this passage it is plain, that the proper divinity of Christ was a fundamental article in the creed of the general Christian body in the second century; and that the imagination of those, who hold that the Nicene fathers added a new doctrine to the Christian verity, is wholly unfounded. "It was foretold of you," says Justin with great truth to the Jew, "that you should be as the sand of the sea-shore; and so indeed you are, if as numerous, as barren likewise, and as unfruitful of all that is good, ever ready to receive the refreshing dews and rain of heaven, and never willing and disposed to make any return."¹⁹⁷

The imperial sceptre was now swayed by the Antonines; and an edict was published at Ephesus by Antoninus Pius, in favour of the Christians, still fiercely persecuted throughout the Lesser Asia. To

¹⁹⁷ Dial. cum Trypho.

expose the calumnies and refute the aspersions of the pagans, many valuable apologies had been written ; and some of these finding their way to the throne, induced the just and humane monarch, though a heathen, to afford the church the shield of his protection.

A. D.

145.

The Emperor to the Common Council of Asia.

“I am quite of opinion, that the gods will take care to discover such persons. For it much more concerns them to punish those who refuse to worship them, than you, if they be able. But you harass and vex the Christians, and accuse them of atheism and other crimes, which you can by no means prove. To them it appears an advantage to die for their religion, and they gain their point, while they throw away their lives, rather than comply with your injunctions. As to the earthquakes which have happened in times past, or lately,¹⁹⁸ is it not proper to remind you of your own despondency, when they happen ; and to desire you to compare your spirit with theirs, and observe how serenely they confide in God? In such seasons you seem to be ignorant of the gods, and to neglect their worship ; you live in the practical ignorance of the supreme God himself, and you harass and persecute to death those who do worship him. Concerning these same men, some others of the provincial governors wrote to our divine father Adrian, to whom he returned an-

¹⁹⁸ Some earthquakes having lately happened, the pagans probably ascribed them to the indignation of the gods against the Christians. “If the Tiber has overflowed its banks,” exclaimed Tertullian, “or the Nile has not overflowed ; if heaven has refused its rain ; if the earth has been shaken ; if famine or plague has spread its ravages, the cry is immediately raised — Away with the Christians to the lions.” — *Tert. Apol.* cap. 40.

swer, that they should not be molested, unless they appeared to attempt something against the Roman government. Many also have signified to me concerning these men, to whom I have returned an answer agreeable to the maxims of my father. But if any person will still persist in accusing the Christians merely as such, let the accused be acquitted, though he appear to be a Christian, and let the accuser be punished."

Set up at Ephesus in the Common Assembly of Asia.

The Ephesian church, at the close of the second century, was governed by Polycrates, the chief of all the Asiatic bishops, and the eighth of his own family in the episcopal office. In his time the controversy respecting the observance of Easter was revived, and with such bitterness, as to threaten the extinction of all kindly feeling between the contending parties. This dispute had been amicably arranged between Polycarp and Anicetus; and the animosity with which it was now agitated, may serve to illustrate the declining piety of the church. Most of the western prelates, influenced by Victor, the haughty bishop of Rome, not only retained the custom followed by their predecessors, but wished to make the rule universal, and bend the orientals to their mode of observance. The Asiatic bishops, however, assembled a synod, over which Polycrates presided; and a letter was written by him in their name to the Roman pontiff, declaring their intention to maintain the ceremonial as usual. A few fragments of this epistle have been preserved by Eusebius.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁹ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 24.

Letter of Polycrates of Ephesus to Victor of Rome.

"We, therefore, observe the true and genuine day; having neither added any thing to, nor taken any thing from (the uninterrupted usage delivered to us.) For in Asia the great lights are dead, who shall be raised again in the day of the Lord's advent, wherein he shall come with glory from heaven, and raise up all his saints, (I mean) Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who died at Hierapolis, and his two daughters, who continued virgins to the end of their lives; also his other daughter, having whilst she lived been inspired by the Holy Ghost, died at Ephesus. And, moreover, John, who leaned on the Lord's breast, and was a priest, wearing a plate of gold,²⁰⁰ and was a martyr, and a doctor: this John (I say) died at Ephesus. Moreover also, Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna and martyr, and Thraseas of Eumema, bishop and martyr, who died at Smyrna. What need we mention Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who died at Laodicea? And, moreover, Papirius, of blessed memory, and Melito the eunuch, who in all things was directed by the suggestion of the Holy Spirit, who lies at Sardis, expecting the (Lord's coming to) visit him from heaven, when he shall be raised from the dead? All these kept the day of Easter on the fourteenth day of the moon, according to the gospel; in nowise violating, but exactly following the rule of faith. And, moreover, I, Polycrates, the meanest of you all, according to the tradition of my kinsmen, some of whom also I have followed: for seven of my relations were bishops, and I am the eighth;²⁰¹ all which kinsmen of mine did always celebrate the day (of Easter), when the people (of the Jews) removed the leaven. I, therefore, brethren, who am sixty-five years old in the Lord, and have been conversant with the brethren dispersed over the world, and have read the

²⁰⁰ See page 68.

²⁰¹ Some suppose, that these had been bishops of Ephesus; but this is not intimated.

whole scripture through, am not at all terrified at what I am threatened with. For those who were greater than I, have said, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.'

"I could make mention of the bishops who are present with me, whom you requested me to convene, and I have called them together: whose names should I annex (to this epistle), they would be very numerous; all which persons having visited me (who am a mean man), did by their consent approve this epistle; well knowing that I have not borne these hoary hairs in vain, but have always led my life agreeable to the precepts of the Lord Jesus."

From this epistle it is evident, that Victor had written to Polycrates, directing him to assemble the bishops in Asia; and threatening excommunication if they did not yield to his decisions. The spirit of the maxim upon which Rome in after times acted, was here developed:—*Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas*:—Thus I will, thus I command, and my will shall be your law. The firmness and humility of the Christian pastor are apparent in Polycrates; the pretended infallibility and haughtiness of the papacy evident in Victor. Fortunately he listened to the moderate views and suggestions of Irenæus, who reminded him in a letter of the amiable conduct of his predecessor, and advised the exercise of mutual charity, forbearance, and love.³⁰² The strife that was excited upon a question purely indifferent, seems to indicate the rapid decay of real piety in the church, though the angry tone of the Roman prelate proves a

³⁰² Irenæus wrote to Victor in the name of the Gallic churches; some fragments of his letter may be seen in Eusebius. — *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 24. See also Chapter 5.

greater declension in the west, than among the eastern brethren.

We have no further memorials of Polycrates; but enough is preserved to prove him a worthy successor of the apostles. He was now infirm and advanced in life, for the expression, "sixty and five years old in the Lord," indicates the period since his conversion; he had read the "whole scripture through," a laborious undertaking at a period when only rare and scattered manuscripts existed; he led his "life agreeable to the precepts of the Lord Jesus," as it became a bishop to be blameless; and though he spoke of himself as a "mean man," yet he adopted no time-serving policy, but boldly reminded the imperious Victor, that one had said, "We ought to obey God rather than men."

A fragment of Apollinaris, against the Montanists, indicates the existence of that heresy among the Ephesians, and the separation of one of its principal supporters from their communion. If the account has not received its colouring from party-spirit, it affords a striking corroboration, of the apostle's prophetic announcement, of the introduction of **GRIEVOUS WOLVES** among them. To understand the quotation it will be necessary to observe, that two women, Priscilla and Maximilia, pretending to the spirit of prophecy, had joined Montanus in the propagation of his heresy.²⁰³

A. D.
200.

"But that we may speak of no more, let the prophetess answer us concerning Alexander, who terms himself a mar-

²⁰³ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 18.

tyr, with whom she feasts, whom many of them pay a reverence to; whose robberies, and other audacious acts (for which he has been punished), we need not speak of, since they may be seen in that place where the public registers are kept. For we will evidence, that those which they call prophets and martyrs, have extorted money, not only from the rich, but also from the indigent, from orphans and widows. For the fruits of a prophet must be approved; for a tree is known by its fruits. That, therefore, those who are desirous may know the truth concerning Alexander, judgment was passed upon him at Ephesus, by Æmilius Frontinus, the proconsul, not for the name of Christ, but the robberies he had audaciously committed, being at that time an apostate from Christ. Then, after he had counterfeited a profession of the Name of the Lord, and deceived the faithful there, he was dismissed; and his own church, where he was born, admitted him not, because he was a thief. Those who are desirous to know all matters concerning him, may have recourse to the public register of Asia."

That the Ephesians were still alive to the purity of the faith, appears evident in the detection and punishment of this impostor; and a farther instance of their jealous care against heresy, presents itself in the ejection of Noëtus of Smyrna. This individual was dis-

seminating notions similar to those which

A. D. 229. Praxeas propagated in the west, namely, that there was no distinction of persons in

the Godhead, a doctrine closely allied to Sabellianism, the supporters of which became known by the name of *Patripassians*. The heresy of Praxeas was opposed in a treatise by Tertullian, who, if we may credit his own account, obliged him to acknowledge his error.²⁰⁴ Noëtus was summoned before the

²⁰⁴ Tert. adv. Prax.

pastors of Ephesus, having probably been disturbing the church there; but when examined as to his opinions upon the trinity, he at first disclaimed those which had been imputed to him. Afterwards becoming emboldened by his adherents, he openly proclaimed his views; and, in the course of another investigation before the church, he exclaimed, "What harm have I done? I glorify none but one God; I know none besides him who hath been begotten, who suffered and died:" and, persisting in his notions, he was excommunicated. But the views of Praxeas and Noëtus, respecting the divine nature, were soon widely diffused, and became a subject of angry and frequent contention. In opposing them the orthodox writers attempted to explain the mystery of the trinity, and by such ill-judged conduct gave rise themselves to increased heterodoxy and schism.²⁰⁵

It is not the design of the present work, to follow the stream of ecclesiastical history, but merely to visit those points where it comes in contact with the seven Asian churches. We must, A. D. therefore, pass on to the time of Constantine,²⁰⁶ when Christianity being established

²⁰⁵ Epiphan. Heres. 57.

²⁰⁶ There is indeed a story relating to Ephesus, during the persecution of Decius, told by Gibbon with considerable naïveté, which may here be noticed. When the emperor persecuted the Christians, seven noble youths of Ephesus concealed themselves in a cavern, where they were immured by the tyrant with a barrier of formidable stones. They immediately fell into a deep slumber, which lasted for the astounding period of one hundred and eighty-seven years. At last the slaves of Adolius, to whom the inheritance of the cave had descended, removed some of the stones for building

as the religion of the empire, the spoliation and ruin of the temple of Diana probably commenced. Sanctioned by imperial edicts, the temples of the pagans were exposed to outrage, and their gods to insult; and many but nominally Christian, in Ephesus, would doubtless rejoice in an opportunity of hurling the goddess from her shrine, and deem it a work of piety to demolish the edifice in which she had so long been worshipped. That such scenes occurred in various parts of the empire, must be admitted; but they are not to be attributed, as some writers would insinuate, to the "barbarous spirit" of Christianity, but to the misguided passions of its merely nominal professors. The remembrance of the past persecutions, would in such minds excite a thirst for retaliation; and uninfluenced by the real spirit of the gospel, the burning of a pagan temple would naturally follow the often-witnessed conflagration of the Christian sanctuary. The scenes of unblushing profligacy which had

materials, when the seven sleepers were aroused. Being hungry they despatched Jamblichus, one of their number, to the city, to procure food; when the altered appearance of Ephesus, the age of the coin he presented to the baker, and his long beard, led to a discovery of the marvellous adventure. The bishop of Ephesus, the clergy and magistrates, visited the cavern, when, after conversing with the somnambulists, they quietly expired. The credit which was given to this story is more remarkable than the event it pretends to relate. James, a Syrian bishop of the fifth century, devotes a homily to its praise; and the Seven Sleepers are found in the Roman, Abyssinian, and Russian calendars. Mahomet introduced the tale in his Koran, and gives to Allah the honour of preserving the bodies from putrefaction, by turning them occasionally from right to left. The tales of the Hartz Mountains, and the adventures of Rip Van Winkle, are closely allied to this eastern fable.

desecrated the temples of heathenism, contributed also to bring down upon them the hostility of the Christian reformers; and the demolition of such receptacles of vice, might with some plausibility appear to be a meritorious undertaking. But the old idolatry still made desperate struggles to regain the ascendancy in Ephesus, and found in the person of Maximus, the philosopher, a powerful support. Attracted from the city by the fame of Julian, who was residing in Nicomedia, Maximus became the tutor and counsellor of the prince, initiated him into all the mysteries of paganism, and, when slain by order of Valentinian, as a professor of magic, his memory was celebrated by his admirers, as "the improver of philosophy while he lived, and its extinguisher when he died."²⁰⁷

Ephesus became now the scene of one of those meetings of lordly prelates, and obsequious underlings, whose violent disputations degrade the early annals of the church. This was summoned by Theodosius the younger, to settle the A. D.
 controversy between Nestorius and Cyril: 431.
 it is known in ecclesiastical history as
 the third general council. Bribery on the grossest scale was practised; the most virulent invectives were indulged; and with truth the bishops of the hostile factions, represented each other as rioters and ruffians. Such proceedings prove, that the fathers of the church in those days had a greater love for victory than for truth; and that a professed zeal for the purity of the faith was assumed, as a cloak to conceal the jealousies of rival patriarchates.

²⁰⁷ Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. c. 1. Libarius. lib. v. ep. 41.

Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, in opposing the Apollinarian heresy, had been led to make use of some unguarded expressions, of which his enemies eagerly availed themselves, to promote his injury and ultimate ruin. The Saviour, according to Apollinaris, was not endowed with a human soul; but the divine nature, being substituted in its place, performed all its functions: while Nestorius and many of the easterns, in endeavouring to discriminate between the two natures here confounded, went to the opposite extreme, and employed expressions which seemed to indicate, that Christ was composed of two distinct persons. But the principal cause of offence to the orthodox, was the warm opposition of Nestorius to the title *θεοτοκος*, *Mother of God*, given to the Virgin Mary, who was even then beginning to usurp those idolatrous honours, which were afterwards paid to her; and his advocating the opinion of the presbyter Anastasius, that *Χριστοτοκος*, *Mother of Christ*, was a more appropriate appellation, since the deity can neither be said to be born or die. These notions were keenly opposed by a number of ecclesiastics, the principal of whom was Cyril, who occupied the episcopal throne in Alexandria, a prelate of haughty and turbulent temper, who had long regarded with jealous eyes the increasing authority of the Constantinopolitan see, and who eagerly embraced the opportunity which presented itself of humbling the power of its diocesan. In concert with Celestine of Rome he convened a council at Alexandria, which adopted the severe measure of anathematizing Nestorius. Undaunted by this procedure, Nestorius retorted upon Cyril, and a contest raged

A. D.
430.

between these two bishops and their adherents of the most violent character, until Theodosius summoned the council of Ephesus to accommodate their differences.²⁰⁸

In obedience to the imperial mandate, the heads of the church repaired to Ephesus on the feast of the Pentecost, accompanied by Candidian, the emperor's deputy on the occasion. Nestorius with his friends came first; Cyril of Alexandria, after some delays, arrived about the time appointed; five days after came Juvenalis of Jerusalem; and without waiting the arrival of the more eastern bishops, with John of Antioch, Cyril proceeded to the trial of the impeached prelate, and succeeded in procuring his deposition as heretical. In this measure he was supported by Memnon, bishop of Ephesus; Nestorius was condemned, without being heard; and after being deprived of his ecclesiastical dignities, he was confined in a monastery, then banished to Oasis in Libya, a miserable spot, surrounded by sandy deserts, where the old man died of grief and ill usage. A malignant tale was afterwards circulated, that his body corrupted, and that his tongue was eaten of worms.

A. D.
431.

The sentence of the Ephesine council was as follows :

“ Moreover, in regard the most reverend Nestorius would neither obey our summons, nor admit the most holy and most religious bishops sent by us;²⁰⁹ we have been forced to pro-

²⁰⁸ In Dupin, vol. i. p. 640, the reader may find a detailed account of the rise and progress of Nestorianism, and the acts of the Ephesine council.

²⁰⁹ Nestorius objected to the council proceeding against him, be-

ceed to an examination of his impious expressions. And having found, both from his letters and writings which have been recited, and also from his own words which he hath lately spoken in this metropolis, which have been confirmed, that his sentiments and doctrines are impious; being necessarily induced thereto, both by the canons and by the letter of the most holy father and fellow-minister, Cælestinus, bishop of the Roman church, after many tears we have proceeded to the pronunciation of this sad sentence. Therefore, our Lord Jesus Christ, who has been blasphemed by him, hath determined by this present holy synod, that the same Nestorius is divested of the episcopal dignity, and excluded from all manner of sacerdotal convention."¹⁰

It is impossible to review the proceedings of the Ephesine council, without severely animadverting upon the turbulent conduct of the arrogant Cyril; and without indulging in a passing comment, as to the almost total absence of vital piety among those, who from their office should have been "ensamples to the flock." Their measures have been justly stigmatized by Mosheim, as "full of low artifice, contrary to all the rules of justice, and destitute of the least air of common decency."¹¹ The excommunicated prelate accuses his persecutors of fighting against him with "*golden arrows*:" and Theodoret testifies, that Cyril prevailed by bribery, impoverishing the Alexandrians to furnish means to enable him to execute his unjust designs. Some of the fathers who composed

fore the arrival of John of Antioch and the eastern bishops; and his objection being overruled, he refused to comply with the summons.

¹⁰ Hist. Eccles. Evrag. Schol. lib. i. c. 4.

¹¹ Mosheim. vol. ii. p. 69.

the Ephesine council, appear to have been unable to write their own names, as many subscriptions occur in the following forms : *I, such an one, have subscribed by the hand of such an one, because I could not write. Such a bishop having said he could not write, I, whose name is underneath, have subscribed for him.*

The Nestorian controversy fatally disturbed the peace of the church, and inflicted a wound, which long continued to fester and inflame; and how little credit can we give the contending prelates, for any portion of their master's spirit, when for such trifles the whole of Christendom was excited into tumult!

The utmost that could be charged upon Nestorius, was an ambiguity of expression, in representing the constitution of our Lord's person; and be it remembered, that Cyril and the Apollinarians were guilty in the first instance of confounding what the persecuted prelate considered as too distinct. Both parties were undoubtedly wrong, in attempting to explain what is confessedly a "mystery of godliness;" but the heresy imputed to Nestorius, is venial in comparison with the violent passions and unjust measures of his adversary. The questions debated in this council serve to show, how much the plain letter of scripture was departed from, and the prosecution of metaphysical niceties indulged. It is worthy of notice, that Nestorius offered to adopt the title of *Mother of God*, as an appellation of the Virgin, if nothing more was meant by it, than that *the man born of her was united to the divinity*. This proposition was rejected by the creatures of Cyril; and so blindly attached were they to a foolish and pernicious title, that his explanations were

unheard, and no punishment was regarded as too severe for him, who had presumed to impugn their darling epithet. The doctrine established by the council as an article of faith was, "*that Christ was one divine person, in whom two natures were most closely and intimately united, but without being mixed or confounded together:*" a doctrine this which Nestorius to the last most solemnly professed. To his memory posterity has done justice, and the infamy attached to his name by his malignant adversaries, has now in a great degree been assigned to them; for though we condemn his intolerance when in power, yet we pity his unmerited fate; for almost all ecclesiastical writers have agreed in concluding, that the sentiments of Nestorius were the same in substance as those of the council by which he was condemned, and that only a few verbal differences occasioned one of the most painful conflicts and tumultuous synods, that marked the often disgraced annals of the early church.

But the Ephesine council did not thus terminate with the deposition of the Constantinopolitan bishop. Cyril had proceeded to his condemnation, without waiting for the arrival of the eastern bishops; and these, with John of Antioch at their head, indignant at the affront, meditated a severe retaliation. They accordingly assembled a synod, and pronounced against Cyril and Memnon, the bishop of Ephesus, who was in his interest, a sentence of excommunication. This gave rise to violent dissensions; and the jealous easterns and Alexandrians continued at variance, until Cyril adopted, in A. D. 433, the articles of faith drawn up by John.

At this council it was decreed, that it should not be lawful to compose any other faith, than that which had been agreed upon by the Nicene fathers ;²¹² that ecclesiastics guilty of such an offence, should be removed from their office, and that laics should be anathematized. The assembled fathers were profuse in their compliments of each other : “ To Celestine a second Paul ; to Cyril a second Paul ; to Celestine agreeing with the synod, the whole council gives thanks ; one Celestine, one Cyril, one faith of the synod, one faith of the whole world : ” — *εἰς Κελεστίνου' εἰς Κυρίλλου' μια πίστις τῆς συνόδου' μια πίστις τῆς οἰκουμένης.*²¹³ The acts of the council were signed by its leading members :

CYRIL, bishop of Alexandria ;
 ARCADIUS, a legatine bishop ;
 JUVENAL, bishop of Jerusalem ;
 PROJECTUS, legatine bishop, &c.²¹⁴

Ephesus became now the scene of another
 A. D. council, which surpassed the former in vio-
 449. lence and fraud ; and, hence, is known in
 ecclesiastical history, by the title of *an assembly of robbers, Latrocinium Ephesinum*. This was summoned by Theodosius, to take cognizance of the Eutychian heresy, but really to gratify the animosity of the Alexandrian bishop, Cyril's successor. The abbot Eutyches, belonging to a convent of monks in Constan-

²¹² Labb. Concil. tom. iii. p. 688.

²¹³ Labb. Concil. tom. iii. p. 618.

²¹⁴ This council also condemned the Pelagian heresy, and anathematized its principal propagators, Pelagius and Celestine.

tinople, had been excommunicated by a council assembled there by the authority of Flavianus, who at that time ruled the see, for maintaining the notion, that "*the human nature of Christ was absorbed by the divine*;" so that in the Saviour there was *a unity of nature* as well as *person*. Against this decision the abbot, at the age of seventy years, appealed; and accordingly an œcumenical council was convened at Ephesus by the emperor's authority. The partiality of Theodosius appeared prominently on this occasion; for Dioscorus of Alexandria, the bitter enemy of Flavianus, whose church was favourable to the heresy about to be investigated, was appointed by him president of the synod. The decision of this second Ephesine council, was, as may be supposed, favourable to Eutyches: his notion of a unity of nature in the person of Christ was sanctioned; the excommunicating sentence was annulled; and by the artifice of Dioscorus he was restored to his former station. The bishops who had deposed Eutyches were themselves deposed, and Flavianus, after being publicly scourged by the prelates in the assembly, was banished to Epipas, a city of Lydia, where, after appealing to Leo of Rome, he died of the wounds he had received. All writers agree in denouncing the proceedings of this assembly as infamous; and the ruffianism with which it was characterised, might well procure for it the title with which it was designated.²¹⁵

²¹⁵ The acts of this council, were annulled at Chalcedon A. D. 451.

According to Gregory Nazienzen, the council of Constantinople was somewhat similar to a council of gladiators; and the good father would have said the same of the Ephesine council had he lived to see it. This testimony has sadly puzzled modern admirers of

The Asiatic churches at the opening of the sixth century, had lost almost every trace of their "first love;" and the warning voice of the early apostle was indeed needed, *Remember, repent, and do thy first works.* Four centuries had elapsed, since the last member of the apostolic band terminated his career in the Lesser Asia; and in that period the streams of divine truth, which Paul, and John, and Polycarp circulated, had become gradually defiled with the impurities of error and superstition. The first-mentioned apostle, had doubtless some prophetic glimpses of the future, when he issued his warning to avoid "profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called;" for rapidly was the beautiful simplicity of the gospel destroyed, by the encroachments of Grecian and Oriental philosophy. The truths of the Christian system were brought into communion with the refinements of heathen learning, and the fruit of this unholy alliance between the "sons of God" and the "daughters of men," was a progeny of error —

A. D.
500.

"Gorgons, and monsters, and chimeras dire."

The form of godliness was indeed zealously maintained, but little of its spirit was preserved, and even the form itself was paganised; and nothing more seemed necessary to constitute a Christian, than a blind veneration for the priesthood, and a submissive reception of its ridiculous appendages. At this era

those venerable assemblies; for many persons have been inclined to think with Jortin, that if they made righteous decrees, it must have been by strange good-luck. — *Eccle. Hist. Rem.* ii. 35.

the number of monks multiplied prodigiously in the east, invited to inaction and repose by its warm climate and sunny skies. The notion being propagated, that abstraction was necessary to spiritual improvement, and mental contemplation the way to the knowledge of divine truth; multitudes eagerly embraced the doctrine, glad of an excuse to escape from the busy cares of life, and gratify their natural love of indolence. When religion was thus confounded with indulgence, and the garb of the recluse became an indemnity from the world's toilsome concerns, it is no wonder that the profession had innumerable votaries; and that the myrtle-crowned valleys of Asia Minor were crowded with fanatics, eager to arrive at spiritual perfection by the constant practice of bodily ease. The north, with its snows and storm-clouds, had indeed its monasteries; but the great hive was in the east, where balmy breezes and ever-ripening fruits, ministered to sensual gratification; and the religious flocked to the plains of Syria, the country of Paul's "labours more abundant," to dream away existence; and the beautiful valleys of Greece and Anatolia, swarmed with a race, whose sole pretensions to piety were laziness and superstition. Had we any record of the Asian churches at this period, from Him who is the "faithful witness," "who walketh in the midst of the golden candlesticks," we should find upon its every page the description of the ancient Laodiceans, "wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked."

Ephesus was now rapidly declining in commercial importance, and its architectural magnificence

suffered an extensive spoliation when Justinian ascended the throne of the eastern empire. Intent on adorning his capital, he transported thither the splendid monuments of antiquity existing in the distant provinces; and the cities of the Lesser Asia were plundered to gratify his passion for stately buildings. The church of Santa Sophia, now a Turkish mosque, was built by him, and the pillars of green jasper which support its immense dome, were originally placed in the temple of Diana, and by his command taken down and brought to Constantinople. This probably sealed the fate of the Ephesian temple, and completed the work of destruction commenced by the Christians, when authorized by imperial edicts to appropriate the pagan temples to their use. The ornament and pride of Ephesus now disappears from the page of history; we meet with no further mention of it, except in descriptions of its by-gone splendour; it shone, says an ancient author, like a meteor at the head of the port, and we may now add, that like a meteor its glory was transitory.

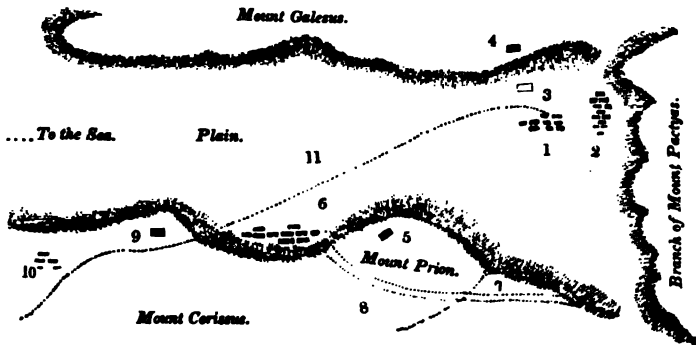
FALLEN EPHESUS.

The Christian history of Ephesus may be said to terminate with the sixth century; and a long interval now presents itself, in which its annals are enveloped in complete obscurity. Its commercial decline and total religious degeneracy, had commenced in the preceding age, and its utter degradation

and abandonment rapidly approached. Christianity continued doubtless to exist in name to a subsequent period, but its spirit and influence were extinguished; and no ray of the "candlestick" that was removed was left, to relieve the darkness that succeeded, and point out the brilliancy with which once it shone. The annals of the eastern empire are, however, silent for two or three centuries, with reference to the city; and the light of history seems to have deserted it with the illumination of Christian truth: the threat of the divine visiter was executed, and the destitution of Ephesus commenced!

At the close of the eleventh century, the eastern empire was stript of almost all its Asiatic possessions, and the scimitar of the Seljukian Turks glittered on the shores of the Bosphorus. Nice, once the seat of councils, became the residence of Sultan Suleiman; and the scenes of apostolic labour were ravaged by the ruthless wanderers from the plains of
 A. D. Scythia. Ephesus at this period became
 1074. the settlement of a Turkish pirate, who, being defeated by the Greek admiral, John Ducas, fled into the interior. In 1306 it suffered from the rapacity of the grand-duke Roger; two years afterwards it surrendered to Sultan Saysan, who removed its inhabitants to Tyriæum, where they were massacred; and in 1402 Tamerlane encamped with his Tartars on its plain. The time of full retribution for the apostacy of past ages had now arrived; and the ruined structures and marble materials of ancient Ephesus, were taken to rear the modern town of Aisalük, and since that period it has been abandoned to the owl and the jackal!

The following plan drawn by Mr. Turner, represents the site and the ruins of Ephesus;²¹⁶ the observations are collected from various travellers.



1. Aisalûk—it consists of many small stone houses, thatched on the roof, and mostly inhabited. "The whole," says Chandler, "is patchwork."
2. Mohammedan buildings in ruins, evidently connected with the remains of the Roman city.
3. Turkish mosque—said to have been once a church; within it are four beautiful columns of the composite order, of white and brown porphyry, supposed to have been taken from the temple of Diana; the minaret has fallen, and it is now entirely deserted.
4. Mountain on which stands the castle, a large inelegant structure, probably erected by the Turks in the thirteenth century.
5. Vestiges of a large Greek theatre, probably the one into which the Ephesian mob rushed when excited by Demetrius.
6. Ruins of the Roman city.
7. Wall of the Greek city.

²¹⁶ Turner's Voyage in the Levant, vol. iii.

8. Valley.
9. Greek tower on an abrupt precipice — tradition records this as the place of Paul's imprisonment, but it was probably a watch-tower belonging to the city wall; it commands a view of the plain below, and the sea-coast to a considerable distance.
10. Foundations of houses apparently Greek.
11. Road to Scala Nova.

The ruins of the theatre, an interesting locality, if the same as the one mentioned in scripture, are thus described by Chandler, who is of this opinion: "The vestiges of this structure, which was very capacious, are further on in the same side of the mountain (Prion). The seats and the ruins of the front are removed. In both wings are several architectural fragments; and prying about the side next to the stadium, we discovered an inscription²¹⁷ over an arch, once one of the avenues, and closed up, perhaps to strengthen the fabric. It bids the reader, if he approached not the festive scene, still be pleased with the achievements of the architect, who had saved the vast circle of the theatre, all-conquering time having yielded to the succour he had contrived. The early advocates of Christianity inveighed strongly against the diversions; but the public relish for the stage, for the athletic exercises, races, and spectacles, was inveterate; and the theatre, the stadium, and the like places of resort, continued to be frequented long after them, even at Ephesus."²¹⁸

²¹⁷ Inscript. Antiq. p. 11.

²¹⁸ Chandler's Travels, vol. i. p. 149.

Smith noticed a gate engraved in two places with these words,

T. Q. ACCENSORENSI ET ASIA;

and he describes a font of porphyry on the plain, called St. John's font, tradition reporting it to have been used by the apostle. Though this report is wholly unfounded, it serves to show, how tradition has preserved the memory of the apostle in the scene of his closing life. Pococke supposes it to have been used for sacrifices; Van Egmont regards it as a cistern belonging to one of the fountains, but relates that the Greeks and Roman Catholics in his company, fully crediting the narration, broke off several pieces to carry to their relatives.

The remains of the temple of Diana, have been diligently sought for by each successive traveller; but none remain so well-defined, as satisfactorily to determine its site. Pococke, however, and Van Egmont, guided by the ancient accounts, place the structure near a morass once a lake, between the Cayster and the mountains on the south. A confused heap of ruins is found on the spot, but nothing to evidence the character of the building of which they are the remains. It is strange, that a fabric so massive should so totally have disappeared; and that a wonder of the world, as Chandler expresses it, should have vanished like a phantom, without leaving a trace behind. The event predicted in the verses of an ancient sybil, that the earth should open and swallow up the temple of Diana, like a ship in a storm, while Ephesus, lamenting on the Cayster's banks, should inquire for it

in vain, we might almost fancy had been realized, and that the song of the prophetess deserved to be recognised as a genuine oracle.²¹⁹

“The Ephesians are now a few Greek peasants, living in extreme wretchedness, dependence, and insensibility; the representatives of an illustrious people, and inhabiting the wreck of their greatness; some the substructions of the glorious edifices which they raised; some beneath the vaults of the stadium, once the crowded scene of their diversions; and some by the abrupt precipice, in the sepulchres which received their ashes. We employed a couple of them to pile stones, to serve instead of a ladder, at the arch of the stadium, and to clear a pedestal of the portico by the theatre from the rubbish. We had occasion for another to dig at the Corinthian temple; and sending to the stadium the whole tribe, ten or twelve followed, one playing all the way before them on a rude lyre, and at times striking the sounding-board with the fingers of his left hand, in concert with the strings. One of them had a pair of sandals of goat-skin, laced with thongs, and not uncommon. After gratifying their curiosity, they returned back as they came, with their musician in front. We heard the partridge call in the area of the theatre and of the stadium. The glorious pomp of its heathen worship is no longer remembered; and Christianity, which was nursed by apostles, and fostered by general coun-

²¹⁹ Clemens Alex. tom. i. p. 44. Sibyl. ver. lib. v. p. 607.

The total disappearance of the temple may be accounted for, by its contiguity to the sea affording facilities for the removal of its materials in the early period of its decline; and the continued accretions of the Cayster, may have since buried what was left.

cils, until it increased to fulness of stature, barely lingers on in an existence hardly visible.”²²⁰

The peasants noticed by Chandler, were not, however, inhabitants of Ephesus, but the people of the neighbouring village of Kirkingecui, who came into the plain during the day-time, to cultivate the fields.

Sir Paul Ricaut remarks, and recent travellers confirm the observation, “This place, where once Christianity so flourished as to be a mother church, and the see of a metropolitan bishop, cannot now show one family of Christians: so hath the secret providence of God disposed affairs, too deep and mysterious for us to search into.”²²¹ “I was in Ephesus,” says Mr. Arundel, “in January, 1824, the desolation was then complete: a Turk, whose shed we occupied, his Arab servant, and a single Greek, composed the entire population, some Turcomans excepted, whose black tents were pitched among the ruins. — What would have been the astonishment of the beloved apostle and Timothy, if they could have

²²⁰ Travels, vol. i. p. 161.

²²¹ Near the ruins of the theatre Mr. Emerson met with a few straggling sheep, tended by an old man, who seemed well versed in the antiquities of the spot. He was a native of a village two leagues distant; and had his ears cut off by Djezzar Pacha, of Acre, for some service which he did not think proper to boast of. He seemed proud of his statistical knowledge; and was anxious that we should go round Mount Prion, in order to see the tomb of Timothy, the companion of St. Paul. He had got a Testament in modern Greek, from an American missionary at Smyrna some time before, and was pretty familiar with its contents; but all the glory of Ephesus, was in his estimation nothing, in comparison to its possessing the tomb of this saint.” — *Letters from the Ægean*, vol. i. p. 136.

foreseen that a time would come, when there would be in Ephesus neither angel, nor church, nor city!"²²²

The traveller who now visits the plain of Ephesus, and contemplates the scene of desolation which it presents, must be impressed by many affecting remembrances; but to the Christian it affords a striking testimony in behalf of the faith he reverences, and a salutary warning with reference to his own personal responsibility. The changes which have occurred in the sweep of ages, since Ephesus emerged from the grey mists of antiquity, give a far more striking lesson of human vanity and littleness, than the most impressive lecture of the moralist conveys; and the last transition from the highest eminence in the faith, to the depth of Moslem superstition, should prove a beacon to the succeeding churches of Christendom, that the will of their supreme Head cannot with impunity be disregarded. The city, once the busy scene of commerce and the arts of civilised life, has vanished; the temple, which required the wealth of Asia and the genius of Ctesiphon to create, is gone; the idol, at whose shrine the Lydian, Persian, and Macedonian bowed, is no more; and Christianity, which introduced into this emporium of pagan pomp and idolatry its bishops, churches, and councils, has likewise disappeared. It is impossible to find a more striking instance of the literal accomplishment of prophecy, than in the fate of Ephesus: the avenging stroke has swept away every thing belonging to it, but the "eternal hills," the river, and a few mouldering columns; and, excepting the mournful cry of the jackal, the night-

²²² Arundel's Visit, p. p. 26. 56.

hawk, and the owl, and the occasional voice of the wayfarer, or the wild shout of the Turcoman, all is silence and solitude.

Even the features of nature have undergone a change in this fated spot; and the landscape is now widely different from what it was in ancient times. The branch of the sea which formed the port, is a vast morass, overgrown with trees and brushwood. The slime brought down by the river, has propagated new land; and the ocean has been driven back by the augmented plain two or three miles from its former boundary. So great is the alteration which has been effected, that whoever visits the ruins of the city now, destitute of previous information, would never suppose it to have had at any time a free communication with the sea. But the mighty changes which have taken place, enable the believer in scripture prophecy to identify the spot; and the Cayster may still be known to the classic tourist, by the noisy clamour of its swans and cranes, reminding him that he is by the stream of which Homer sung, and which supplied his immortal poem with one of its most beautiful similitudes:

Καυστὴ οὐκί περὶρα — &c.

“As feath’ry nations sweeping on amain,
Flights of the long-neck’d swan, and silvery crane,
From Asius’ meads, by clear Cayster’s spring,
Now here, now there, exultant wind on wing,
In gay contention strive, while long and loud,
The champion rings beneath the plumed cloud;
So from their camp.” ——— *Iliad*, lib. ii. v. 460.

NOTES.

The plain of Ephesus had anciently two lakes, which brought a considerable revenue to the city.

"Templum Dianæ complexi e diversis regionibus duo Selinuntæ. — *Pliny*.

Chandler crossed the mouth of a lake on his road from Claros, and discovered another running parallel with it across the plain. The riches of these waters probably consisted in a fishery.

The Cayster is described by Pliny, as rising among the hills called Cilbianian, and bringing down many rivers with a lake named the Pegasæan, which was driven into it by the Phyrites. The lake and the river, however, remain still to be identified.

"Ephesus alluitur Caystro, in Cilbianis jugis orto, multosque amnes deferente, et stagnum Pegasæum, quod Phyrites amnis expellit." — *Lib. v. cap. 29*.

A. D. 186. Theodotion, the author of a Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures, a Christian of the sect of the Ebionites, was born, according to some writers, at Ephesus, and flourished in the time of Commodus. — *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 8*.

A. D. 262. The Goths from beyond the Danube, crossed the Hellespont under Raspa, in the time of Gallienus, and carried off from Ephesus an immense booty.

A. D. 431. The council of Ephesus furnished Mesrobe and Isaac with a correct copy of the Greek bible, to assist them in making an Armenian version of the Scriptures.

A. D. 451. In the acts of the council of Chalcedon, Bassianus and Stephanus are mentioned as bishops of Ephesus. They were both deposed by the council, and another substituted in their place.

A. D. 477. A synod of Asian bishops seems to have been held at Ephesus, to support the emperor Basiliscus in anathematizing the Chalcedonians. Our history of these times is defective. Paulus, a bishop of Ephesus, who had been deposed, was now reinstated in the see; and the honours of the patriarchate were restored to it.

CHAPTER IV.

TRALLES AND MAGNESIA.

— ὥστε πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν ἈΣΙΑΝ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν λόγον τοῦ
Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ. ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ, cap. 19. v. 10.

TRALLES. *Epistle of Ignatius.* — *Ghuizel-hissar.* — *Visit of Mr.*
Arundel. — MAGNESIA. *Epistle of Ignatius.* — *Inekbazar.*

AT the commencement of the second century, two churches are introduced to our notice by Ignatius, within the district of the Apocalyptic Heptarchy, which were probably indebted for their origin, to the active zeal of the neighbouring communities, and intimately connected with them in their progress. In looking at the situation of Ephesus upon the map, it will be seen that Tralles and Magnesia were at a short distance on the south-east; and the long residence of Paul and John in the former, was doubtless instrumental in introducing the light of Christianity into most of the surrounding cities. During the visit of Paul, we are informed that "all Asia" heard the word; and we may conclude, that various religious societies were formed, besides those mentioned in the sacred history, throughout the provinces.

TRALLES.

Strabo, who studied rhetoric in the neighbouring town of Nysa, describes this city as thirty-three miles distant from Ephesus, and inhabited by wealthy citizens, some of whom were always asiarchæ, in the time of the Romans. Receiving the faith of Christ in the apostolic age, Polybius, the bishop of the church, was sent to Smyrna, to convey the kindly regards of those over whom he ministered to Ignatius, during his stay there. In an epistle the martyr acknowledged their kindness, cautioned them against those who corrupt the faith, and particularly warned them of the errors of the Docetæ. "Stop your ears as often as any one shall speak contrary to Jesus Christ.—Flee these evil sprouts which bring forth deadly fruit, of which, if any one tastes, he shall presently die.—I salute you from Smyrna, together with the churches of God that are present with me, who have refreshed me in all things, both in the flesh and in the spirit.—Remember in your prayers the church of Syria, from which I am not worthy to be called, being one of the least of it."—*To the Trallians.* The Christian faith experienced the same corruption and decline here, as in the other churches of Asia Propria; and in the eleventh century, Tralles was swept away by the first storm of Turkish invasion. Its name now exists no longer, and the modern town of Ghuizel-hissar, the "beautiful castle," occupies its site.

The remains of the ancient city have been em-

ployed in the erection of the modern town; the Turkish cemetery is fenced with stones, which retain in the symbols of the cross they bear, testimonials of a purer faith; and the miserable remnant of Christianity which still exists, is the slave of Islamism. Mr. Arundel remarks²²³ in his journal, Sunday, April 2nd, 1826: "Having read the morning service, we called by appointment on Mr. Pascal, who accompanied us at nine o'clock to the castle and site of the ancient city, elevated at a considerable height above the present town. As the magnificent view of the plain of the Meander burst upon me from this hill, I was strongly reminded of the tempter's exhibition of 'all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.' At the south, forming the boundary of the plain on that side, was a long ridge of lofty mountains parallel with the course of the Meander, which flowed at a great distance from it; on the west lay another range of mountains; while on the north, the ridge of Messogies approached almost close to the spot on which we stood, separated only by a narrow but a deep ravine. The whole plain was in the highest state of cultivation, abounding with rich pasturage, corn-fields, vineyards, olive and fig trees: its extent may be judged of by Strabo's account, that the river Meander lay ten miles from the town, and it is considerably longer than wide. The town lay at the base of the hill, principally in the plain, though partly on its slope, and from its numerous minarets made an imposing appearance. Returning, we saw numerous excavations made by the

²²³ Arundel, p. 63.

Turks, and in one spot such a quantity of rich mouldings, capitals, shafts of pillars, and architraves of the purest Ionic, that I could have almost decided it to have been the site of the temple of Æsculapius ; but the work of destruction had already commenced : stones of the finest sculpture were chiseled and split into small pieces for building-stones and Turkish turbans, and in a very few weeks not a vestige will remain !”²²⁴

MAGNESIA AD MEANDRUM.

According to Strabo and Pliny, this place was fifteen miles from Tralles ; and in the times of paganism, was of considerable importance and wealth.²²⁵ A temple of *Diana Leucophryene*, or the *white-browed*,

²²⁴ The site of ancient Tralles has been disputed, but the following remarks of Colonel Leake seem conclusive : “The ruins of Tralles are found above the modern town of Ghiuzel-hissar, in a situation such as Strabo has described, a table summit strong by nature (*ιδρυται επι τραπέζιον τινος, ακραν εχοντος ερμυνην.*) The only ruin well defined, is that of the theatre and stadium, which formed one building. The Ionic temple of Æsculapius, built by Angelius, which Vitruvius mentions, as well as the other works of the purer times of Grecian art, seem to have been buried by earthquakes beneath the ruins of later buildings ; among which are many remains of the architecture of the lower empire, vestiges of the restoration of Tralles, by Andronicus Paleologus. Pococke copied a Latin inscription at Ghiuzel-hissar, in which the name of Tralles occurs, but without having observed it. It is found also in two inscriptions, copied at Ghiuzel-hissar by Sherard. The site of Tralles is traversed by a torrent answering to the ancient Eudon.” — *Journal*, p. 247.

²²⁵ This place must not be confounded with Magnesia ad Sipylum.

witnessed the devotions of the superstitious multitude; and a cavern sacred to Apollo, received the reverence and offerings of the vulgar. The ruin of the fabric followed upon the establishment of Christianity; the cave was deserted, and its oracle silenced; and even the truth that wrought this mighty triumph, has now vanished from the spot, and left no trace of its existence behind.

It is likely that the gospel was introduced into Magnesia by the labours of the apostles, and Ignatius soon after rendered it by an epistle a subject of ecclesiastical history. The church here sent messengers to greet him on his way to Rome; and in his letter he commends Damas the bishop, with Apollonius, Bassus, and Sotio, who accompanied him. He warns the Magnesians not to despise their pastor on account of his youth; to be on their guard "against strange doctrines;" and especially to avoid the errors of the Ebionites and Judaizers. "For if we still continue to live according to the Jewish law, we do confess ourselves not to have received grace. For even the divine prophets lived according to Jesus Christ. For this cause they were persecuted, being inspired by his grace to convince the unbelievers and disobedient, that there is one God, who manifested himself by Jesus Christ his Son, who is his eternal word. Knowing you to be full of God, I have the more briefly exhorted you. Be mindful of me in your prayers, that I may attain unto God, and of the church that is in Syria. The Ephesians from Smyrna salute you. The rest of the churches in the honour of Jesus Christ salute you." *To the Magnesians.*

How long the faith continued to flourish, when its

purity declined, and its corruption was consummated, we know not; but after experiencing a succession of calamities, Magnesia fell beneath the common curse of the Lesser Asia. The Greek, the Persian, and the Turk alternately triumphed; and amid the waste and desolation of ages, the site of the city of Themistocles²²⁶ has with difficulty been discovered. A solitary spot covered with ruins, with a few straw huts, called Inekbazar,²²⁷ alone remains to be visited by the traveller, an affecting monument of the vanity of human achievements, and the devastations of all-conquering time.

We have here another instance of the fatal consequences, which ensued upon a neglect of the apocalyptic warnings. For what is addressed to the communities specified, was intended for the benefit of all who professed the name of Christ. The judgments which are denounced, the cautions which are given, and the rewards which are unfolded, the spirit accompanies with the significant testimony, "*He that hath an ear to hear, let him hear!*" The same punishment which we have seen so awfully inflicted upon the Ephesians, was entailed upon all guilty of a similar delinquency: the removal of Christian light and privilege followed; and the churches of Tralles and Magnesia, the boast and the glory of the primitive times, were laid prostrate by the ruthless arm of the Saracen.

²²⁶ Magnesia was given by the Persians to Themistocles, to furnish bread for his table.

²²⁷ Mr. Hamilton, the late ambassador at the court of Naples, was the first who discovered the site of Magnesia at Inekbazar, which has since been satisfactorily determined by Colonel Leake.

CHAPTER V.

SMYRNA.

——— “Smyrnæi — repetitâ vetustate, seu Tantalus Jove ortus illos, sive Theseus et ipse divina stirpe, sive Amazonum una, condidisset.” ———

Taciti Annal. lib. iv. c. 56.

CHURCH OF SMYRNA. *Polycarp.* — *Ignatius.* — *Interview with Anicetus.* — *Irenæus.* — *Epistle of Polycarp.* — *Miracles at his Death.* — *School at Smyrna.* — *Earthquake.* — *Decius.* — *Pionius, a Martyr.* — *Speech in the Market-place.* — *Turks.* — *Knights of Rhodes.* —
MODERN SMYRNA. *Greeks.* — *Fulfilment of Prophecy.*

THE historian in this passage relates, that when the cities of Asia were contending for the honour of building a temple to Tiberius, the Smyrnæan deputies urged in behalf of their claims the antiquity of their origin, leaving it as a point undecided, whether their founder was the son of Jupiter, or the son of a god, or one of the Amazons. The history of ancient Smyrna, as these extravagant pretensions intimate, is involved in obscurity; its inhabitants were originally of Ephesus, but seceding they withdrew to a site about twenty stadia from the present city. This place, ten years after its erection, and a century and a half after the Trojan war, claimed the honour of produ-

cing Homer; a circumstance which often figures in its annals, and is frequently associated with its name by the eastern chroniclers. The story relates, that when Critheis with other women from the town, was going to observe a festival in the neighbourhood, she brought him forth on the banks of the Meles; but the poet himself makes no mention of either the city, the river, or the event.²²⁸ Old Smyrna fell beneath the power of the Lydians, and the people subsisted for four centuries as villagers, until a dream of Alexander provided them with a new residence.²²⁹

A medallion in the Vatican represents two goddesses appearing to Alexander the Great, while asleep;

²²⁸ The memory of a temple of Homer tradition has faintly preserved in Smyrna, but no remains whatever now attest its existence. His writings in allusion to his reputed birth-place, have been called "Meletæ Chartæ," and the poet is himself styled by Tibullus Melesigenes. Smyrna's claim to this honour is mentioned in the ancient distich :

"Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Salamis, Rhodos, Argos, Athenæ,
Orbus de patria certat, Homere tua."

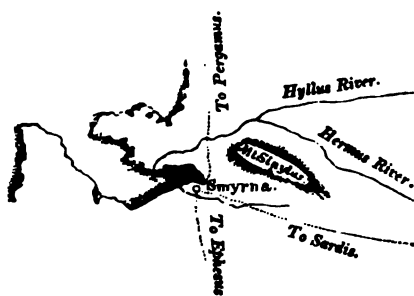
A cavern is still shown as the place where he composed his verses, which Chandler visited.

²²⁹ The ruins of the old city²³⁰ remained in the second century, and vestiges might now perhaps be discovered by an accurate survey.

²³⁰ This place boasted another poet besides Homer, whose history is equally as obscure. He sung also of the Trojan war; and he tells us, that before the dawn was on his cheeks the muses inspired him with his song, as he fed his sheep on a mountain three times as far from the Hermus as a man can hollow to be heard. His work, in fourteen books, containing a sequel to the Iliad, was found by Cardinal Bessarion in the church of St. Nicholas, near Hydrus, a city of Magna Græcia. The name of Quintus, probably the owner, was inscribed on the MS., and the author has been since called by it, with the addition of Smyrnæus.—*Chandler*, vol. i. p. 90.

and a fable³²¹ connected with his history, informs us, that, after a day's hunting on mount Pagus, while reclining under a plane tree, these goddesses directed him in a vision to found there a city for the scattered Smyrnæans. The design was executed by his generals, Antigonus and Lysimachus; and the Clarian oracle being consulted, reported in an heroic couplet, that the dwellers on mount Pagus would be prosperous and happy. The Smyrnæans were admitted into the Ionic confederacy; and their city, celebrated in poetry and song, as "Izmir³²² the lovely," "The ornament of Asia," "The crown of Ionia," has survived to the present the repeated attacks of earthquakes, conflagrations, pestilence, and war.

Smyrna is situated in lat. 38°. 29'. N. lon. 24°. 44'. 5". E. at the south-east end of a bay.



the inland country in its neighbourhood, at certain seasons of the year, wears a beautiful appearance: the acanth, anemone, and ranunculus bloom on the traveler's path, or colour the fields with their exquisite

eum C. Albani. v. l. pl. 32. Pausanias. p. 210.

r, a Turkish corruption of *εις την Σμυρναν*.

site tints; while the boats that descend the Hermus in the season, laden with the fruits of Asia for the Levant markets, remind the traveller of the descriptions of a sister country, "a land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees."

THE CHURCH OF SMYRNA.

The sacred narrative of the early diffusion of our religion, gives us no information of the introduction of the gospel into Smyrna; but ecclesiastical history attributes, upon the authority of ancient report, the formation of the church there to the apostle John. The proximity of the city to Ephesus, its rank and consequence among the great marts of Asia, and the easy access to it as a maritime place, favour the conclusion, that at an early period it was a scene of apostolic labour. The whole eastern coast of the *Ægean* was navigated by Paul: his course from Mitylene to Miletus, lay by the entrance of the Smyrnæan gulf; his ministry at Ephesus, was doubtless extended to the benighted districts around it; so that it is not improbable, that from the lips of Paul himself the Smyrnæans had the first intelligence of the communications of revealed truth.

At the period of John's exile in Patmos, a church, distinguished for its spirituality and zeal, existed in Smyrna; and to this community the shortest, but one of the most commendatory of the apocalyptic epistles was written. It is argued by Usher, and there is strong presumptive evidence in behalf of his opinion,

that Polycarp was the "angel" or pastor upon this occasion addressed. The objections that are urged against this supposition, chiefly rest upon his extreme youth at the time of the apostle's banishment; but from his own statement of his age, at the period of his martyrdom, A. D. 167, it does not appear, that he was too young to have then exercised the important office of the ministry. He had been for "eighty and six years," at his death, a servant of Christ; and supposing him to have been fourteen at his conversion, his birth is brought down to the year 67, which makes him nearly thirty years of age at the era of the Apocalypse. There is strong presumptive evidence in the epistle itself, though we leave the opinion doubtful, that Polycarp was the presiding minister of the Smyrnæans; for the prophetic intimation of trouble and persecution is in close agreement with his history; and applying the address to him, who was awaiting the horrors of martyrdom, there is something extremely significant in the exhibition of a "crown of life," and in the exhortation to be "faithful unto death."

The Smyrnæan believers were beheld by their omniscient Lord, poor in worldly circumstances, oppressed by a dominant faction; yet "rich" in the fruits of holiness, and the attainments of religion. Though subject to the fiery trial of persecution, they were advancing triumphantly in the career of victory; and their "poverty," which still did not screen them from pagan vengeance, served to illustrate the seeming paradox of Paul, "having nothing and yet possessing all things." The peace and harmony of this holy

communion, is strikingly contrasted with the blasphemy" of the Jews, who, from their enmity to the gospel, are described as the "synagogue of Satan." The curse of judicial blindness clung to this fated people in every scene of their dispersion; the "vail was upon their hearts" in Smyrna, as in the country which for its guiltiness had been given to the Gentile; and in the death of Polycarp²³³ we find the descendants of Abraham the active executioners of heathen cruelty, collecting fuel to light up the flames of martyrdom.

The most remarkable feature in the epistle to the Smyrnæans, is the prophetic announcement of "tribulation for *ten days*," "the devil" casting some of them "into prison." This passage has been the subject of various explications, owing to the uncertainty we are in, whether we are to understand the period specified literally or prophetically. In the language of scripture prophecy, the ten days of tribulation denote ten years; and this was about the duration of the persecution under Diocletian, which fell heavily upon the Asiatic churches. Dr. Woodhouse, however, supposes, that ten days of trouble are literally foretold, and among the Smyrnæans only, from the malice of the Jews mentioned in the preceding verse. We have no account of the fulfilment of the prophecy in this sense, for the history of the early times is exceedingly defective; but the prediction thus completed, would serve to strengthen the faith of the sufferers in the stormy season that was approaching, and to confirm

²³³ Ep. of Smyrna.

the divinity of the book which contained it.²³⁴ The prophecy indicates generally a time of fierce persecution; and in the course of the present chapter, we shall see Smyrna stained with the blood of martyrs, giving her bishop to the fires, and having her Christian profession and fidelity tried even "unto death."

Though the supposition of Usher²³⁵ and several others, that Polycarp was the ANGEL of the church addressed by John, is doubtful; yet it is certain, that shortly after he held the episcopal office in Smyrna. The testimony of the fathers is unanimous, in representing him as having been conversant with the apostles; and probably by John himself he was placed over the Smyrnæans. The principal particulars respecting him, are furnished us by Irenæus: "Polycarp," says he, "was not only instructed by the apostles, and many that saw Christ, but also was by the apostles ordained bishop of the church of Smyrna, in Asia, (whom we also saw in our younger days, for he lived to a great age, and being very ancient, ended his life by a glorious and most renowned martyrdom.) This Polycarp continually taught what he had learned

²³⁴ There are two other expositions which have been given of the Prophecy. The number *ten* is often used in scripture to denote frequency and abundance. "Thou hast changed my wages ten times;" i. e. frequently changed them: Gen. xxxi. 7. 41. "Those men have tempted me now these ten times:" Num. xiv. 22. "These ten times have ye reproached me:" Job, xix. 3. "He found them ten times better than all the magicians:" Dan. i. 20.

The ten days are again interpreted, as indicating the shortness of the persecution, in the same sense as they are employed by Terence: "*Decem dierum vix mi est familia.*" I have enjoyed my family but a short time.—*Heaut.* act. 5. s. l. v. 36.

²³⁵ Prolegem. ad Ignat.

of the apostles, such points as the church now teacheth, and such only as are true. All the churches throughout Asia do attest this, and also all those who to this day have been successors to Polycarp, who doubtless is a witness much more worthy to be credited, and gives a firmer assurance to the truth than either Valentinus or Marcion, or any other authors of corrupt opinions."²³⁶ He appears to have possessed all the qualifications of a good shepherd; delighting in bringing before his flock the example of the Lord's apostles; and with such fidelity and affection did he discharge his duties, as to command the devoted attachment of the objects of his care. Some interesting notices of the state of the Smyrnæan believers at this period, we may gather from the details

we have of the sojourn of Ignatius among
 A. D. them. When on his way to Rome, the
 107. ship in which he sailed touched at this
 port, and Polycarp received with holy joy
 his former fellow-disciple, and endeavoured, by acts of Christian friendship, to mitigate the hardship of his bonds. There appears to have been a convocation of Christians at this time in Smyrna; the bishops and deacons of the neighbouring societies were convened, to meet the condemned martyr; and from hence he wrote four of his epistles. During his stay Ignatius exhorted the believers to watchfulness and fidelity, warned them of the heresies that were beginning to spring up, and directed them to hold fast the traditions of the apostles. It has been thought strange, that as he was condemned, guarded, and in chains,

²³⁶ Iren. Adv. Hæres. lib. iii.

he should yet have been allowed intercourse with the Christians of the cities through which he passed ; but it is intimated in one of his letters, that the soldiers who attended him were bribed, and allowed the brethren access to him, though with much insolence and rudeness. When he departed, Polycarp sent one of his deacons, Burrhus, with him as far as Troas, by whose hands he sent letters in return to the Smyrnæans and their bishop. As these epistles are so often mentioned, it may be proper to observe, that into the much-disputed and complicated question of their comparative purity or corruption, it is no object of the present work to enter ; suffice it to be stated, the general opinion of all critics is, that a later pen has gone over them, and, probably, that of some time-serving slave of the prelacy, who has inserted or transposed passages, to maintain the *jus divinum* of the ecclesiastical polity of the third and fourth centuries, at once nauseous to the reader, and discreditable to the name of Ignatius. The letter to Polycarp is decidedly inferior to all the rest, and this is thought to be unfavourable to its genuineness ; but the circumstances in which the writer was placed, exposed to the interruptions and insults of a band of military guards, may account for some considerable inequality.

“Ignatius, who is also called Theophorus, to Polycarp, bishop of the church which is at Smyrna ; their overseer, but rather himself overlooked by God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ ; all happiness.”

Polycarp appears to advantage in the pages of his friend ;

“Having known that thy mind towards God is fixed, as it were, upon an immoveable rock; I exceedingly give thanks, that I have been thought worthy to behold thy face, in which may I always rejoice in God.—The times demand thee, as the pilot the winds; and he that is tossed in a tempest, the haven where he should be. I will be thy surety in all things, and my bonds which thou hast loved.”

The epistle closes with a salutation to “the wife of Epitropus, with all her house, and the children; Attalus, my well-beloved; Alcè, my well-beloved:” believers of Smyrna, who had given evidences of distinguished piety, and who had, probably by kindly offices, commended themselves to the friendly regard of the bishop during his stay.

The Smyrnæan letter sent by the same messenger, Burrhus, the deacon, is a valuable document, bearing ample testimony to the justice of the apocalyptic writer’s commendations.

The epistle is chiefly remarkable for its explicit statements upon the real nature of the Saviour, opposing the heresies of the Docetæ, who we may conjecture were rather numerous in the city, from the prominence given to the subject. The Docetæ denied the proper humanity of the Son of God, and held that he died upon the cross only in appearance; consequently, discarding all idea of the doctrine of the atonement. In opposition to the opinions of this pestilent sect, the Smyrnæans are reminded of the faith delivered unto the saints, and directed to express a marked abhorrence of their doctrines.

The “house of Tavas; Alcè, my well-beloved; the

incomparable Daphnus and Eutechnus," are greeted :
"farewell in the grace of God."

From this epistle of Ignatius, interpolated as it may have been by a meddling scribbler of a later age, it appears plain, that the Smyrnæans retained that character which had called forth the encomium of John : though subjected to "tribulation," they were still "rich" in the gifts and graces of religion ; and animated by a prospect of the never-fading "crown," they were emulous to obtain the requisite preparation for it. Though encompassed with heretical teachers, yet, under the fatherly care of Polycarp, the seducer had gained no admission into the fold ; and, though exposed to the strong temptations which persecution offers to apostatize, they had manifested a steadfast adherence to the faith.

The primitive Christians were remarkably circum-spect in their intercourse with the world ; they watched with jealousy over their deportment, lest they should indirectly sanction that which was unchristian ; and it was a frequent practice with them, when any thing was said that was irreverent or erroneous, to stop their ears, and quit the place, or testify their disapprobation by some equally significant mode. We learn from Irenæus, that Polycarp would not tolerate by his presence any thing contrary to the gospel ; that heretical expressions, instantly led him to abandon the spot where they were uttered ; and that when the base efforts of evil men to corrupt the faith were mentioned unto him, he would frequently exclaim, "For what times, O God, hast thou reserved me !" The politeness of a modern age, will designate such

conduct barbarian rudeness; but the Christian will admire the tender conscientiousness from which it resulted, and would hail the adoption of a similar distinctiveness between Christ and Belial, as a sign of the return of a primitive and apostolic spirit. That intercourse which is necessary to the well-being of society, may indeed now forbid the expression of such an abrupt and practical protest against the vices and errors of the day, as that which Polycarp observed; but it is desirable, that there should be a more obvious and strongly marked barrier between the church and the world, than that which now exists. Irenæus, who informs us of this, was conversant with the Smyrnæan bishop in his youth, and had ample opportunities of hearing from others of his public and private life.²³⁷

²³⁷ In an epistle to Florinus, concerning monarchy, or the origin of evil, he observes:

"These opinions the presbyters who lived before our times, who were the disciples of the apostles, did in nowise deliver unto you. For I saw you when, being yet a boy, I was in the Lower Asia with Polycarp; and you were then, though a person of rank in the emperor's service, very desirous of being esteemed by him. For I remember the things then done better than what has happened of late. The instructions of our childhood grow with our growth, and adhere to us most closely. I can describe the place where the blessed Polycarp sat and discoursed, and his going out and coming in, and the manner of his life, and the figure of his body, and the discourses which he preached to the populace, the familiar converse which he had with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he repeated their sayings, and what things he had heard from them of the Lord concerning his miracles and doctrines. As Polycarp had received from those who had beheld the Word of Life, so he related them agreeable in all things to the scriptures. These things then, by the mercy of God visiting me, I heard diligently, and copied them out, not indeed on paper, but on my heart, and by the grace of God I retain a genuine remembrance of them; and I can witness in the presence of God, that if that blessed and apostolic presbyter had heard *some of the doctrines* which are now maintained, he would have cried out and stopped his ears, and, according to his custom, have said, 'O good God, to what

About the middle of this century, a dispute which had subsisted between the eastern and western churches, as to the proper observance of Easter, began to assume a formidable character, Polycarp appearing at the head of the Asiatics, and Anicetus of Rome taking the lead of the opposite party. The controversy was merely respecting the precise period for its celebration; but as the one party pleaded the authority of a tradition derived from John and Philip, and the other a tradition handed down from Paul and Peter, the peace of the church was threatened, and the union of its members was in danger of being destroyed. To prevent consequences so fatal, Polycarp undertook a journey to Rome, to endeavour to accommodate matters with the adverse brethren, and terminate the warm dispute which had been occasioned. The interview between the two distinguished prelates was amicable and friendly; the venerable Asiatic obtained the esteem and confidence of the Roman bishop; and each party was to observe its own peculiar customs, without being regarded as reflecting upon the observances of the other.²³⁸

times hast thou reserved me, that I should endure such things!" and he would immediately have fled from the place where he had heard such doctrines."

The epistle to Florinus is not now extant; the above extract Eusebius has preserved. — *Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 20.

²³⁸ Irenæus in his letter to Victor observes :

"When Polycarp of blessed memory came to Rome, in the times of Anicetus, there being a controversy between them, they mutually embraced each other, not being desirous of contention. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe it; because he had kept it with John, and the other apostles with whom he had been conversant: nor did Polycarp induce Anicetus to observe it as he did, retaining the usage of the presbyters who were his predecessors. These things being so, they received communion together, and Anicetus permitted Polycarp to administer the sacrament in his own church, and they parted peaceably one with another." — *Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 24..

The life of Polycarp terminated as a testimony to the truth which he had published : in the reign of Marcus Aurelius he was added to the noble army of martyrs. The persecution at this period
A. D. was severely felt in Smyrna, and many
167. of the members of the church, as well as its excellent bishop, were taken away by the hand of violence. A relation of their sufferings was drawn up by their surviving brethren, and sent from Smyrna to the various communities throughout the Christian world. This is one of the most important documents of the early church ; it was so valued in ancient times, that Gregory of Tours tells us, that up to his time it was publicly read in the Gallican churches ; and Scaliger observes, that he “ knew nothing in all ecclesiastical antiquity, that was more wont to affect his mind, insomuch, that he seemed to be no longer himself when he read it.” The substance of the narrative has been preserved by Eusebius in his history, and what he has not given us has been restored by the industry of Usher.²³⁹

The writer of this account, calls Polycarp's martyrdom an evangelical one, performed according to the rules of the gospel, as he did not precipitately place himself in the hands of his enemies. Many of the Christians not only took no pains to preserve their lives during the persecutions, but wantonly exposed themselves to their enemies, and rushed to the scaffold and the stake, as an act of noble daring, accepta-

²³⁹ The epistle has been translated by Archbishop Wake, in his *Epistles of the Apostolical Fathers* ; and by Milner, in his *Church History*, vol. 1.

ble to God, and honourable to his cause. Such conduct evinced a zeal, but not according to knowledge; a religious feeling, but essentially diseased; and was directly calculated to deprive the coveted martyrdom of its sacred character, rendering it a mere ebullition of human heroism, instead of an act of calm submission to the divine will. In an early stage of its decline, the church was generally infected by an excessive desire for this distinction; concealment or flight in persecution was branded with the odium of cowardice and treachery; and the dangerous error found a ready acceptance, that a high meritoriousness was connected with the flames of martyrdom, and that the needful preparation for heaven would be wrought out by the fiery ordeal. Tertullian wrote a book against flight in persecution: he labours to prove, that it was base in private Christians to flee, and much more so in bishops and pastors; that a good shepherd will lay down his life for the flock, but a bad one flee at the sight of the wolf, and leave his sheep to be torn in pieces. These opinions, so contrary to the express precept of the Saviour, were general in the second century; so that when Cyprian and Dionysius retired for a season from their sees, they had recourse to the plea of an express revelation, to avoid the popular odium.²⁴⁰

The miracles that are reported to have been wrought

²⁴⁰ Athanasius, who fled from the persecution of his enemies, wrote an apology to justify his flight, in which he cites the examples of the apostles, prophets, and Christ himself. Clement also declares it to be a sin, and a kind of self-murder, not to flee on such an occasion.

upon this occasion, have been the subject of much discussion, the members of the Roman church receiving them in all their peculiarity, whilst protestant writers have endeavoured to account for them from natural causes.²⁴¹ That Polycarp should foretell his death by violence, at a period when persecution was fiercely raging, and his person particularly in danger, was only the result of a common foresight; but that he should distinctly foretell his perishing in the flames, when most of the other martyrs of that time were thrown to the beasts, was evidently miraculous; and the reception of the intimation by a vision, was an ordinary mode of divine communication, probably not then extinct in the church, and an honour in such circumstances not unlikely to be bestowed upon so faithful and aged a servant. A voice, we are told, was heard speaking to him from heaven; and as this was to encourage the sufferer, there is reason on that account to receive it as miraculous, though it might be only some Christian spectator addressing him from a neighbouring house-top, which was thus interpreted by the excited multitude, who were expecting the exhibition of something superhuman. But the burning pile sent forth a sweet fragrance; and without having recourse to a miracle this may be easily explained: the wood used for the fire, was gathered from the baths and work-shops, and it was most likely of a scented kind, common in the east; or the Christians, to honour the martyrdom of their bishop, might adopt a pagan practice, which became afterwards common, and cast aromatics and spices over the faggots. The

²⁴¹ See the Smyrnæan Ep.

papists have ever been fond of this wonder, and, perhaps, on account of the ease with which it may be performed: the relics of the canonized have smelt of odoriferous perfume ages after the carcase of the saint has rotted; and even the Mussulman piously believes the body of his prophet to send forth a divine fragrance: but with reference to the scented pile of Polycarp, it was doubtless accident, or the affection of his friends and relatives, that caused it. The story of the fire refusing to burn the body, and the officer piercing it with his sword, no doubt proceeded from a similar mistake; for how perfectly useless was it to suspend the action of the fire, and yet permit the sword of the executioner to perform its office: it is much more reasonable to suppose, that owing to some tumult or other cause, the death of the martyr was hastened, to prevent the possibility of a rescue. That the flames, as we read, formed an arch over Polycarp, might be true; but the circumstance must be stript of its miracle, and attributed to the action of the winds, by which the pretended supernatural appearance might easily be effected. But the greatest miracle of all, was the flight of a dove out of the wound which the executioner made: this portion of the story is not related by Eusebius, but it is to be found in the genuine epistle; and may, perhaps, admit of a satisfactory, though not miraculous solution. The writers of the Romish church, relate many similar prodigies; and we are gravely told by credulous annalists, of a dove sitting upon Basil's shoulder, inspiring him with his sermon; of a dove alighting upon Fabian's head, appointing him bishop of Rome; and a dove, spotless

and white as snow, came out of Eulalia's mouth, when she was put to death. We have here another instance of the introduction of pagan auguries among the Christians, probably under the sanction of the sacred relation respecting the Spirit descending upon Christ like a dove. That such a bird ascended from the scene of Polycarp's martyrdom, there is no reason to doubt; but that it issued from his body, is a gross and absurd fiction: a Christian might designedly let it loose as a mark of honour; as an eagle was brought to the funeral pile of the Roman emperors, and observed to fly out of it as soon as it began to blaze, which was supposed to carry away the soul of the departed, of which event the senate required a deposition by oath, in order to their deification.

According to Irenæus, Polycarp wrote several epistles; but only one is now extant, addressed to the church at Philippi. It consists of thirteen sections; the original Greek of the tenth, eleventh, and twelveth is lost, but an ancient Latin version has been preserved. It appears to have been written immediately after the martyrdom of Ignatius, as he refers to the example of patience set forth by him, and requests any information which the Philippians had obtained respecting him. It is worthy of observation, that Polycarp takes notice of only two orders of ministers in the church, exhorting the people to be subject to their presbyters and deacons. He states the duties and the qualifications of the deacons, presbyters, and people; but makes no mention of the bishop, which he assuredly would have done, had a diocesan been then recognised by the church, inculca-

ting submission to him rather than to subordinate officers. It would not have accorded with the rules of decorum, for Polycarp to have recommended submission to those who had a superior in the church, to whom they were subject: it would have been an insult to the higher officer; and an irregularity of which the writer would have been by no means guilty. Ignatius, on the contrary, in his epistles, written a short time previous, is perpetually inculcating subjection to bishops, presbyters, and deacons; and this is no mean proof, that such passages are the additions of a later age.

To preserve their youth from having recourse to the sages of paganism for their education, schools were established by the Christians, to which masters competent to instruct in the various departments of science were appointed. We are told, that Polycarp erected a school at Smyrna, as well as John at Ephesus, and that Mark was the original founder of the Catechetical School at Alexandria. These *gymnasia* or academies, were intended principally for those who aspired to public stations in the church; and for their use large libraries were frequently attached to the colleges. The academy at Alexandria, became early renowned for the erudition of its teachers. Here Pantæus, Clemens, and Origen retired from the Christian sanctuary, to meditate upon the lofty speculations of metaphysical science; and unfortunately exhibited to their pupils the faith of their divine master, blended with the wild dreams of the Grecian sages. From this school proceeded the sect of the Eclectics, who, acknowledging Ammonius for their master,

amalgamated the doctrines of Christianity with the opinions of Plato. Similar academies existed in the west, at Rome, Marseilles, and Treves; and in the east at Antioch, Cæsarea, Edessa, and Seleucia.²⁴²

The advancement of Christianity in the Roman empire, and its elevation as the state religion, have been enumerated among the causes which contributed to the decline and extinction of ancient learning. The fathers of the church have been represented, as engaged in a crusade against heathen wit, as well as heathen superstition, intentionally involving the literature and the mythology of paganism in indiscriminate ruin. If placed, however, in the balance of close and impartial investigation, this judgment will be found to violate the bounds of truth; to be discountenanced by the genius of the intrusive religion, and the literary character of its most zealous apologists; and to be sanctioned not by the history of its general progress, but by the occasional excesses of a highly-tempered and misguided zeal. The Christian system, when it proceeded from the hand of its divine founder, and was maintained in its purity by the primitive professors, gave no advocacy to the sentiment, that ignorance was the mother of devotion; this was the offspring of later times: when adulterated by human inventions, and amalgamated with the beggarly elements of this world, every distinctive feature of its divinity was defaced, and the impress of man's device stamped upon it. The prevalence of the Christian system, or rather the fanatical zeal which unhappily

²⁴² Schmidius. *Dis. de Catechetica Alexandrina.*—Mosheim. *Eccles. Hist.* i. p. 118.

influenced some of its friends, however adverse to the fine arts, inflicted no injury upon the cause of learning, but what was amply compensated by the literary labours of the sect. Assailed by heathen sophists and rhetoricians, the fathers of the church had to appear in defence of their faith; and their apologetic writings display an extensive acquaintance with the learning of the ancients. The genius and abilities of their opponents, rendered it incumbent upon the Christian apologists, to study the literature of the classical ages, in order to be qualified successfully to vindicate the truth, and attack the philosophy of the pagan schools. Laws were, hence, enacted, excluding the illiterate from public offices in the church; and ordaining bishops or doctors to be proficient in human wisdom. At Alexandria many of the Christian presbyters, embracing the principles of a modified Platonism, assumed the philosopher's cloak; and though the beautiful simplicity of the gospel became corrupted by an alliance with human speculations, and its sublime truths obscured by allegory and mysticism; yet the coalition was in some respects advantageous to the church, inasmuch as profane learning could be employed in its defence.

The successor of Polycarp, if we may credit the writer who reports it, was Papirius—a Roman name—but of this person we know very little.²⁴³ In the letter of Polycrates on the Quartodeciman controversy, he is mentioned as a member of the synod which he convened, and which sanctioned the epistle he wrote.

²⁴³ Valesius, in a note to Eusebius Hist. lib. v. c. 24. asserts this on the authority of Simeon Metaphrastes.

From the manner in which the Ephesian bishop speaks of him, we may conclude, that he was highly esteemed by the eastern churches, and that his memory deserves to be blessed. The same letter introduces us to another eminent Christian, Thraseas, a bishop and martyr, who died at Smyrna. He is mentioned by Apollinaris, as a martyr, in his book against the Cataphrygians. The church which he ruled was at Eumema; and he was probably taken to Smyrna, to provide for the amusements of the amphitheatre, in one of the persecutions which so often assailed the devoted city.

In the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the
A. D. slaughter of the Smyrnæan Christians was
177. interrupted by an earthquake, which destroyed the greater part of the city, and swept away a vast number of its inhabitants. The believers acknowledging the providence of God, interpreted the calamity as a judgment upon their persecutors; and they in their turn most likely regarded it, as a sign of the indignation of the gods, because they had not wholly exterminated the hated sect. Amid the ruin and devastation which this disaster occasioned, the surviving members of the church recurred to a remarkable saying of Polycarp's, and invested it with the character and honours of prophecy. The Smyrnæan account of his martyrdom relates, that "*Polycarp, with a grave aspect, beholding all the multitude, waving his hand to them, and looking up to heaven, said, 'Destroy the impious.'*" In about ten years after this declaration was uttered, it was strikingly realized in the overthrow of Smyrna, and the destruction of

its blood-thirsty multitudes : and though we may hesitate in regarding the event, as the fulfilment of a prediction ; yet we are inclined to pardon those who attached such a significancy to it, when looking round upon the prostrate palace of the proconsul, the deserted stadium, and the half-entombed city, with the memory of their murdered bishop and cruelly-tortured brethren fresh upon their minds.²⁴⁴

An interval of nearly a century now elapses in the history of Smyrna, when its church is again presented to our notice “ in garments rolled in blood,” once more attesting the truth of apocalyptic prophecy. In the period which had intervened, religion had been rapidly disappearing from the ranks of its professors ; the vital power of godliness was lost in a round of cold, and stately, and oftentimes ridiculous ceremonials ; and the spread of heresy, and the encroachments of antichrist, mark the pages of the ecclesiastical annalist. That the Smyrnæans participated in this decline, we may gather from the apostacy of their bishop and some of their members, when Decius, the tyrant of thirty months, in every part of the Roman world directed the extirpation of the Christian name. The tranquillity which the church had enjoyed since the death of Severus, a period of about thirty years, had fostered a spirit of worldly-mindedness, extinguished much of its ardent attachment to the truth, and brought within its pale a number of merely nominal professors. These fell

A. D.

249.

²⁴⁴ Smyrna was raised from its ruins by the liberality of the emperor. Aristides, the sophist, wrote to him in its behalf, for which the citizens erected a statue in his honour.

away in the time of adversity; abjured the name of Christ before the tribunal of the judge; and purchased an inglorious security, by sacrificing in the idol temple, and swearing by the fortune of Cæsar. The persecution, says Cyprian, was a divine chastisement for the sins of the church, and assuredly it tended to arouse and purify it: the secular priest fled from the altar; the insincere professor forsook the solemn assembly; and much internal laxity and corruption was removed by the fury of the Decian sword.

The edict which was issued upon this occasion, was strictly universal; it was not confined to a particular class or province, but sanctioned and enjoined a general out-breaking of the passions and prejudices of the idolatrous world upon the obnoxious sect. Decius was a philosopher, and his pride was offended by the Christian worship; he also wore the purple, and his jealousy might be alarmed by the prevalence of a system which acknowledged an authority superior to his throne. In Rome, Jerusalem, and Antioch many were called to suffer; and in Smyrna, notwithstanding the apostacy of the bishop, the glory of its church was maintained in the martyrdom of several of its members.

An account of the sufferings of Pionius, a Smyrnanæan presbyter, has been preserved;²⁴⁵ and his conduct, when confronted with his heathen judges, not only evinces the piety and heroism of the Christian spirit, but the enlightened views of a cultivated mind. His companions in tribulation were Asclepiades, and Sabina his sister; Lemnus, a presbyter; Metrodorus,

²⁴⁵ Euseb. lib. iv. c. 15. Fleury, lib. vi. 30.

a Marcionite; a woman named Macedonia; and another called Eutychiana, a Montanist. When brought into the market-place, in the midst of the multitude, Pionius thus addressed them:—"CITIZENS OF SMYRNA, who please yourselves with the beauty of your walls and city, and value yourselves on account of your poet Homer; and ye Jews, if there be any among you, hear me speak a few words: We find that Smyrna has been esteemed the finest city in the world, and was reckoned the chief of those which contended for the honour of Homer's birth. I am informed, that you deride those who come of their own accord to sacrifice, or who do not refuse when urged to it. But surely your admired Homer should teach you, never to rejoice at the death of any man.²⁴⁶ And ye Jews ought to obey Moses, who tells you, 'Thou shalt not see thy brother's ass or his ox fall down by the way, and hide thyself from him: thou shalt surely help him to lift them up again.'²⁴⁷ And Solomon says, 'Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth.' For my part, I would rather die or undergo any sufferings, than contradict my conscience in religious concerns."

²⁴⁶ Odyss. xxii. v. 412. Telemachus interposes, in behalf of Phemius, with Ulysses:

*"Ἰσχεο, μηδέ τι τοῦτον ἀναιτίον οὐτ' αὖτε χαλκίῳ
καὶ κήρυκα μέδοντα σῶσωμεν, ὅσπερ μὲν αἰεὶ
οἶκῳ ἐν ἡμετέρῳ κηδέεσκετο παιδὸς ἐόντος.*

"Hold—harm not with the vengeful falchion's edge,
This blameless man: and we will also spare
Medon, the herald, who hath ever been
A watchful guardian of my boyish years."

²⁴⁷ Deut. xvii. 4.

The people said unto him, "Believe us, Pionius, your probity and wisdom make us deem you worthy to live, and life is pleasant."—"I own," said the presbyter, "that life is pleasant, but I mean that eternal life, which I aspire after: I do not with a contemptuous spirit reject the good things of this life, but I prefer something which is infinitely better."

When visited in prison by some who had been compelled to sacrifice: "I now suffer afresh," said Pionius, "and methinks I am torn in pieces, when I see the pearls of the church trod under-foot by swine, and the stars of heaven cast to the earth by the tail of the dragon.²⁴⁸ But our sins have been the cause." When one of his judges said unto him, "Forbear, Pionius, this thirst after vain glory."—"Is this your eloquence?" replied the sufferer. "Is this what you have read in your books? Was not Socrates thus treated by the Athenians? According to your judgment and advice, he sought after VAIN GLORY, because he applied himself to wisdom and virtue."

It is evident that Pionius was no ignorant devotee; and the proconsul reluctantly gave up his attempts to bring him over to the national religion. He was nailed to the stake and burnt, along with Metrodorus, a Marcionite.²⁴⁹ Pionius remained "faithful unto death," and his last words, when the fire was consuming him, were, "Lord, receive my soul."

²⁴⁸ Rev. xii. 14.

²⁴⁹ Tillemont is sadly puzzled to account for the constancy with which even heretics suffered. Speaking of a Christian and a Marcionite perishing in the same fire, the bigot exclaims, "The former went to heaven, and the latter to hell-fire."

It does not appear what was the fate of Endemon after his defection, whether he was restored to the communion of the church, or continued in his apostasy. A considerable controversy arose about the treatment of the lapsed,²⁵⁰ some prelates advocating indulgent measures, while others, with Cyprian at their head, were for enforcing a severe course of penitential discipline. The epistles of the African bishop contain the history of this dispute, which at last terminated with the adoption of his views, in preference to the milder course which was proposed.

The history of Smyrna has hitherto been closely allied with the prophetic announcements contained in the message of John; and though it seldom appears in the annals of the succeeding ages, yet, in all the occasional glimpses which we have of its progress, the continued accomplishment of the prediction, in scenes of bloodshed and religious barbarity, may be traced. The ecclesiastical contentions, which marked the fourth and fifth centuries—the Easter controversy, which deluged many of the eastern cities with blood—the rebellion of the Paulicians, who ravaged the whole of the Lesser Asia—and the Moslem sword, which struck the feeble Greeks to the dust—inflicted the “tribulation” which the writer of the Revelations had foretold. The eye of Omniscience penetrated the veil which futurity places before short-sighted man, and read the tale of “lamentation, mourning, and woe” soon to be

²⁵⁰ The lapsed were divided into three classes. The *sacrificati*, or those who sacrificed; the *thurificati*, or those who burnt incense; and the *libellatici*, or those who presented certificates containing a profession of paganism.

told; and the progressive history of the Smyrnæans could not have been more graphically described, than in the statement which the inspired evangelist was directed to communicate.

At the close of the eleventh century, Tzachas, a Turkish marauder, assumed the title of king, and made Smyrna his capital, subduing a great part of the Ionian coast. A few years after, the Greek admiral, John Ducas, besieged the city; and on its surrender, Caspaces was appointed governor: but a Turkish weapon soon despatched its new master, whose death was revenged by the massacre of ten thousand of its inhabitants. Frequent depredations and incessant wars, desolated at this period the whole Asian coast; the once proud capitals of antiquity were laid waste; and Smyrna, under a succession of disasters, fell in ruins. In the thirteenth century the city was restored and beautified by the emperor, John Angelus Comnenus;²⁵¹ and it soon flourished in renewed splendour upon the summit of Mount Pagus. In 1313 it again bowed its head to the Ottoman yoke under Atin, and received a sultan in the person of his son and successor Amir. The Latins and the knights of Rhodes, in 1345, sailed into the port, and succeeded in making themselves masters of a fort, a short distance from the Turkish town, which they called Fort St. Peter. Here the pope sent a nominal patriarch of Constantinople, under an escort of twelve galleys; but Amir attacking the Italians in their church during mass, drove them into their citadel, before which he was afterwards shot by an arrow.

²⁵¹ Ducas. c. 7.

Sultan Morat attempted to dislodge the knights in vain; his son Bajazet for seven years besieged or blockaded the place without success; but in 1402 Tamerlane with his hordes effected its conquest. He took the town in fourteen days; cut off a thousand prisoners, and caused a tower to be erected with stones and their heads intermixed. The city was left in possession of its former governor; but in 1419 it was taken by Mohammed I, assisted by the grand master of Rhodes, who demolished its fortifications. After the fall of the Greek empire, and the firm establishment of the Ottoman power, commerce began to revive, and Smyrna to flourish; the inhabitants, freed from their apprehensions, left by degrees the precincts of the castle, and the "town slid as it were down the slope towards the sea," leaving the ruins of former habitations upon the hill.

MODERN SMYRNA.

If the traveller visiting the plain of Marathon, where liberty triumphed over proud oppression, is allowed to feel that he is treading upon hallowed ground; the Christian may claim a similar privilege, when contemplating the scenes of the struggles and conflicts of the primitive times. Here nobler proofs of daring were exhibited, and a far more glorious and difficult victory was achieved. The prejudices of the vulgar, the passions of the mob, the authority of magistrates, and the fury of emperors, were encoun-

tered; no weapons were employed, but those of calm submission and steadfast faith; no ally was sought, but the providence of God; and though sufferings, the most fearful that ingenious cruelty could devise, were inflicted upon those who ventured to enlist against the popular party; yet the whole of this mighty host of adversaries has been swept away, and the cause which was contemned, survives to flourish and more extensively prevail.

The memory of the primitive martyrs, was long revered and fondly cherished in the cities where they suffered; and the remembrance of Polycarp in Smyrna, has survived the vicissitudes of war and earthquake which have passed over it. The site of a stadium is pointed out by Chandler, on the slope of the mountain above the modern city; and tradition regards this, as having been the place where the bishop was murdered. The ground-plot is stripped of its marble seats and decorations, and its area is now cultivated by the husbandman. The sepulchre in which the remains of the saint were deposited, was annually visited by the Greeks on the day of his festival; and this custom was adopted at an early period after his martyrdom. Smith, who visited the place in 1671, describes it as a "small open room," which might have been used as a place of worship. He noticed upon a marble stone the following inscription:

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙ
ΑΔΡΙΑΝΩΙ
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩΙ ΣΩΤΗΡΙ
ΚΑΙ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΙ

Chandler made many inquiries after the sepulchre, but could obtain no satisfactory information; so that either Smith must have been mistaken as to the place he saw, or the knowledge of the spot has been lost. But whilst the tomb of the saint has passed away, the religion for which he suffered still maintains its existence among the Smyrnæans. It has often been "cast down," but not destroyed; it has been trampled in the dust by the haughty Moslem, but it has risen again with undiminished vigour; and though debased by an alliance with carnal inventions, it still exhibits, owing to the pious zeal of the western missionaries, some of its primitive and peculiar features.

Smyrna contains at present, according to Mr. Hartley,²⁵² a population of forty-five thousand Turks, fifteen thousand Greeks, eight thousand Armenians, eight thousand Jews, and less than one thousand Europeans. The Turks have above twenty mosques, the Greeks have three churches, the Armenians one, the Latins two, the Protestants two, and the Jews have several synagogues. Though ignorance and error still characterize the Greek church to an appalling extent, yet the connexion which Smyrna has enjoyed with protestant nations, has contributed in some degree, to its enlightenment and reformation: the circulation of the scriptures, and the efforts of American and European missionaries have introduced an unadulterated gospel; and ere long the cloud of superstition which gathered on the decline of the eastern empire, and the aggressions of the imperious

²⁵² Church Missionary Papers, 1827.

Ottoman, will be rolled back, and the light of primitive purity and truth again return.

In the lot of the Smyrniote Greek, we may still see distinct traces of the portraiture of ancient times, and the truth of what the voice of infallibility announced — tribulation and suffering. The Roman oppressor is gone, and the rude lords of the steppes have vanished — but the Turkish scimitar still hangs over the devoted race. During the recent revolution, Smyrna was the theatre of the most tragical scenes; the vengeance of the populace was wreaked upon the unfortunate Greeks, at any fresh advantage gained by their brethren; and assassinations and massacres, rivalling any thing recorded in the blood-stained pages of antiquity, were of daily occurrence.²⁵³

The injuries which have been inflicted upon the unhappy Smyrniotes, and the perpetuation of the Christian name, in spite of the cruelty of the oppressor, afford a striking instance of the fulfilment of scripture prophecy. The message which the evangelist conveyed, was one which foretold “trial,” “imprisonment,” and “tribulation;”²⁵⁴ and every age which has swept over Smyrna since the time the vision was beheld, has been signalized with attempts to strike down the faith of Christ with the sword: — the permanency of the truth was, however, intimated in the disclosure,²⁵⁵ and it has survived, though in a scene of

²⁵³ November, 1821.

²⁵⁴ “Behold the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that ye may be tried, and ye shall have tribulation ten days:” *Rev. ii. 9, 10.*

²⁵⁵ “Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer — Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life:” *Rev. ii. 10.*

unremitting danger and vicissitude, the edict of the Cæsar and the sabre of Mahomet, and wears the "crown" of immortality. Without giving an unequalled admission to the popular paradox, that persecution nourishes that which it is intended to destroy, we see in the history of the Smyrnæan church, that while prosperity brought with it apathy and supineness, calamity served to arouse its decaying energies, and to preserve its existence amid the dangers with which it was threatened — while the other communities not so often visited by the storm, slumbered in the lap of effemination and luxury, Smyrna was kept awake by the perpetual thunder — and thus in the administration of Providence, man's blind and insensate impiety has been made an instrument for the advancement of his purposes and the preservation of his truth.

Of ancient Smyrna, the city of Alexander and Polycarp, there are but few remains: the ruins of an old wall on the castle hill, with the aqueducts and amphitheatre beneath, are relics of a remote epoch; but the fragments of antiquity have been removed to build up the modern town. The paved causeway which led over the hills to Ephesus has almost wholly disappeared; the temple of Homer has left no vestige of its existence; but the Meles, once the boast of the Smyrnæans, preserves its ancient course. In the Greek quarter, a beautiful custom of antiquity is still kept up, and on the stone-benches by their doors, the families of the oppressed race are seated in the cool of the day, to enjoy a precarious intercourse with each other, and too often to repeat a tale of injury and wrong. Since the time of Abraham and Job this

practice has obtained in the east; and the Bedouin is still seen at the door of his tent in the wilderness, and the Greeks of the Levant at the threshold of their habitations, when the breezes of the evening twilight sweep, and the beauty of the star-decked heaven is unfolded.

The Meles was celebrated for its clear stream and beautiful water; and on many ancient medals, the river-god is represented, leaning on an urn and holding a cornucopia, to indicate the fertility which he dispensed. In allusion to Homer's birth on the margin of the river, the deity is sometimes described with a lyre, as a friend to the muses; and the sophist Philostratus pompously observes, that, boasting such an honour, he need not envy the Scamander his descent from Jupiter, or the ocean that he is styled the parent of all. The memory of the poet Bion, who was born in Smyrna, is also associated with the Meles; and the honours of the sparkling stream are thus beautifully celebrated by Moschus, in his epitaph on his master:²⁵⁶

Τοῦτό τοι, ὦ ποταμῶν λιγυρώτατε, δεύτερον ἄλγος·
 Τοῦτο, Μέλη, νέον ἄλγος· ἀπώλετο πρᾶν τοι Ὅμηρος,
 Τῆννο, τὸ Καλλιόπας γλυκερὸν στόμα· καὶ σε λέγοντι
 Μύρεσθαι καλὸν νῖα πολυκλαύστοισι ρέεθροισι,
 Πᾶσαν δ' ἐπλησας φωνᾶς ἄλλα· νῦν πάλιν ἄλλον
 Ὑιέα δακρύνεις, αἰνῶ δ' ἐπὶ πένθεϊ τάκη.
 Ἀμφοτέρουι —————

“Meles! of streams in melody the chief,
 Now heaves thy bosom with another grief;

²⁵⁶ Idyl. iii.

Thy Homer died, great master of the song;
 Thy Homer died, the muse's sweetest tongue:
 Then did thy waves in plaintive murmurs weep,
 And roll'd thy swelling sorrows to the deep.
 Another son demands thy meed of woe,
 Again thy waters weep in long-drawn murmurs slow."

The environs of Smyrna are adorned with groves of cypress, which wave in funereal sadness over the tombs of Islamism. The burying-places of the sons of the prophet, are always striking features in an oriental landscape; at a distance the traveller distinguishes them by a dark outline of vegetation; and when entered, their singular neatness, and flower-strewed graves, cannot fail to excite feelings of mournful pleasure. There is something peculiarly affecting and appropriate, in selecting the shade of a tree as the place of repose for the departed: it serves to remind the living, that "we all do fade as a leaf;" and yet that as "there is hope of a tree that it will sprout again," so man shall be raised out of his dreamless sleep, when "the heavens be no more." *But Deborah, Rebekah's nurse, died, and she was buried beneath Bethel under an OAK, and the name of it was called "Allon-bachuth," the oak of weeping.*²⁵⁷ The Turkish women are regular visitors of the cemeteries; they plant flowers²⁵⁸ upon the tombs of their relatives,

²⁵⁷ Gen. xxxv. 8. Saul and his sons were buried beneath an *oak* in Jabesh.

²⁵⁸ This custom obtained among the early Christians, who adorned the tomb with flowers²⁵⁹ and evergreens, as emblems of the resurrection.

²⁵⁹ St. Ambrose, in his funeral oration on the death of Valentinian, observes:

"Nec ego floribus tumulum ejus aspergam, sed spiritum ejus Christi odore per-

which they assiduously tend; believing that the spirits of those they loved are happier, the longer the myrtle or the thyme continues to bloom. The cypress was the funereal plant of the ancient Romans; the mummy chests of Egypt were made of its wood; the Athenians buried those who fell in battle in coffins constructed of it; and it still waves its graceful branches over the long-home of the Greek, and shades the sepulchres of the faithful on both sides of the Bosphorus. But the Turk thinks himself most happy when his bones are laid in Asia, the country where the prophet and the fathers of his tribe repose, and which he regards as the final home of his race, "when the fair men from the north shall have driven them from Europe."

fundam; spargant alii plenis lilia calathis; nobis lilium est Christus: hoc reliquias ejus sacrobo." — *Orat. Funebr. de obitu Valentin.*

"I will not sprinkle his grave with flowers, but pour on his spirit the odour of Christ. Let others scatter baskets of flowers: Christ is our lily, and with this I will consecrate his relics."

Jerome, in an epistle to Pammachius on the death of his wife, remarks:

"Cæteri mariti super tumulos conjugam spargunt violas, rosas, lilia, floresque purpureos, et dolorem pectoris his officiis consolantur: Pammachius noster sanctam favillam ossaque veneranda eleemosynæ balsamis rigat." — *Epist. ad Pammachium de obitu Uxoris.*

"Whilst other husbands strewed violets, roses, lilies, and purple flowers upon the grave of their wives, and comforted themselves with such like offices, Pammachius bedewed her ashes and venerable bones with the balsam of alms."

NOTES.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SMYRNÆAN EPISTLE.

Polycarp's Martyrdom Evangelical.

"The church of God which sojourns at Smyrna, to that which sojourns at Philomelium, and in all places where the holy catholic church sojourns throughout the world, may the mercy, peace, and love of God the Father, and of the Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied.

"We have written to you, brethren, as well concerning the other martyrs, as particularly the blessed Polycarp; who, as it were, sealing by his testimony, closed the persecution. For all these things, which were done, were so conducted, that the Lord from above might exhibit to us the nature of a martyrdom perfectly evangelical. Polycarp did not precipitately give himself up to death, but waited till he was apprehended, as our Lord himself did, that we might imitate him; not caring only for ourselves, but also for our neighbours. It is the office of solid and genuine charity, not to desire our own salvation only, but also that of all the brethren. Blessed and noble indeed are all martyrdoms which are regulated according to the will of God; for it behoves us, who assume to ourselves the character of Christians, a name professing distinguished sanctity, to submit to God alone the disposal of all events."

Polycarp's Apprehension.

"The admirable Polycarp, when he heard what passed, was quite unmoved, and resolved to remain in the city. But, induced by the entreaties of his people, he retired to a village at no great distance; and there, with a few friends, he spent his time entirely, day and night, in praying, according to his usual custom, for all the churches in the world. Three days before he was seized, he had a vision while he was praying: he saw his pillow consumed by fire; and turning to the company, he said prophetically, 'I must be burnt alive.' Upon hearing that the persons in search of him were just at hand, he retired to another village: immediately the officers came to his house; and not finding him, they seized two servants, one of whom was induced by torture to confess the place of his retreat. Certainly it was impossible to conceal him, since even those of his own household discovered him. And the tetrarch, called Cleoronimus Herod, hastened to introduce him into the stadium; that so he might obtain his lot as a follower of Christ; and that those who betrayed him might share with Judas. Taking then the servant as their guide, they went out about supper-time, with their usual arms, as

against a robber ; and arriving late, they found him lying in an upper room at the end of the house, whence he might have made his escape, but he would not, saying, 'The will of the Lord be done.'"

Examination before the Proconsul.

"When he was brought to the tribunal there was a great tumult, as soon as it was generally understood that Polycarp was apprehended. The proconsul asked him, if he was Polycarp ; to which he assented. The former then began to exhort him : — 'Have pity on thy own great age ; and the like. Swear by the fortune of Cæsar ; repent ; say, Take away the atheists.' — Polycarp, with a grave aspect, beholding all the multitude, waving his hand to them, and looking up to heaven, said, 'Take away the atheists.' The proconsul urging him, and saying, 'Swear, and I will release thee ; reproach Christ.' — Polycarp said, 'Eighty and six years have I served him, and he hath never wronged me ; and how can I blaspheme my King, who hath saved me ?' — The proconsul still urging, 'Swear by the fortune of Cæsar.' — Polycarp said, 'If you still vainly contend to make me swear by the fortune of Cæsar, as you speak, affecting an ignorance of my real character, hear me frankly declaring what I am : I am a Christian ; and if you desire to learn the Christian doctrine, assign me a day and hear.'"

His Martyrdom.

"As soon as the fire was prepared, stripping off his clothes, and loosing his girdle, he attempted to take off his shoes, a thing unusual for him to do formerly, because each of the faithful were wont to strive who should be most assiduous in serving him. For before his integrity and blameless conduct had always procured him the most unfeigned respect. Immediately the usual appendages of burning were placed about him. And when they were going to fasten him to the stake, he said, 'Let me remain as I am ; for He who giveth me strength to sustain the fire, will enable me also, without your securing me with nails, to remain unmoved in the fire.' Upon which they bound him without nailing him. And he, putting his hands behind him, and being bound as a distinguished ram, selected from a great flock, a burnt-offering acceptable to God Almighty, said, 'O Father of thy beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have attained the knowledge of thee, O God of angels and principalities, and of all creation, and of all the just who live in thy sight. I bless thee, that thou hast counted me worthy of this day and this hour, to receive my portion in the number of martyrs, in the cup of Christ, for the resurrection to eternal life both of soul and body, in the incorruption of the Holy Ghost ; among whom may I be received before thee this day as a sacrifice well savoured and acceptable, which thou, the faithful and true God, hast prepared, promised beforehand, and fulfilled accordingly. Wherefore I praise thee for all those things ; I bless thee, I glorify thee, by the eternal High-priest, Jesus Christ, thy well-beloved Son ; through whom, with him in the Holy Spirit, be glory to thee both now and for ever. AMEN.'"

The Miracles wrought.

"And when he had pronounced Amen aloud, and finished his prayer, the officers lighted the fire; and a great flame bursting out — we, to whom it was given to see, and who also were reserved to relate to others that which happened — saw a wonder; for the flame forming the appearance of an arch, as the sail of a vessel filled with wind, was as a wall round the body of the martyr; which was in the midst, not as burning flesh, but as gold and silver refined in the furnace. We received also in our nostrils such a fragrance, as arises from frankincense, or some other precious perfume. At length the impious, observing that his body could not be consumed by the fire, ordered the confector to approach and to plunge his sword into the body. Upon this a quantity of blood gushed out, so that the fire was extinguished; and all the multitude were astonished to see the difference thus providentially made between the unbelievers and the elect; of whom the admirable personage before us was, doubtless, one, in our age an apostolical and prophetic teacher, the bishop of the catholic church of Smyrna. For whatever he declared was fulfilled and will be fulfilled."

Character of Polycarp.

"Thus far concerning the blessed Polycarp. Eleven brethren from Philadelphia suffered with him; but he alone is particularly celebrated by all: even by Gentiles he is spoken of in every place. He was in truth not only an illustrious teacher, but also an eminent martyr, whose martyrdom all desire to imitate, because it was regulated exactly by evangelical principles. For by patience he conquered the unjust magistrate; and thus receiving the crown of immortality, and exulting with apostles and all the righteous, he glorifies God, even the Father, and blesses our Lord, even the Ruler of our bodies and the Shepherd of his church dispersed through the world.

"Polycarp suffered martyrdom on the second day of the month Xanthicus, on the seventh day before the calends of March, on the great sabbath, at the eighth hour. He was apprehended by Herod, under Philip the Trallian Pontifex, Statius Quadratus being proconsul, but Jesus Christ reigning for ever, to whom be glory, honour, majesty, an eternal throne from age to age.

"These things Caius hath transcribed from the copy of Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, who also lived with Irenæus. And I Socrates have transcribed from the copy of Caius. Grace be with you all. And I Pionius have transcribed from the fore-mentioned, having made search for it, and received the knowledge of it by a vision of Polycarp, as I shall show in what follows, collecting it when now almost obsolete. So may the Lord Jesus Christ gather me with his elect, to whom be glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit to the ages of ages. AMEN."

CHAPTER VI.

PERGAMOS.

καὶ δώσω αὐτῷ ψῆφον λευκὴν.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛ. ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ. Cap. ii. v. 17.

HANNO.

————— si ita est, tesseram

Conferre, si vis hospitem, eccam, adtuli.

AGORASTOCLES. Agedum huc ostende; est par probe: nam habeo domi.

HANNO.

O mi hospes, salve multum! nam mihi tuus pater,

Pater tuus ergo, hospes Antidamus fuit.

Hæc mihi hospitalis tessera cum illo fuit.

Plautus. Pænulus. Act. v. sc. 2. v. 80.

PERGAMOS. *Library.*—*Antipas.*—DOCTRINE OF BALAAM. *Baal-peor.*—NICOLAITANES. *Nicolas.*—*The Arabic Shuaib.*—WHITE STONE. *Tesserae hospitales.*—*Bishops.*—BERGAMO. *Ruins.*—*Church of St. John.*—*Sancta Sophia.*—*Greeks.*—*Inscriptions.*—*Baptism.*

PERGAMOS is celebrated in antiquity as the capital of a powerful and independent kingdom; a seat of oriental learning; as well as an early and impressive scene of Christian triumph. The advantages of its situation, contiguous to the sea, at the foot of an elevated hill, commanding an extensive plain, rendered it an important stronghold; and owing to the inventive genius of its inhabitants, it became a splendid metropolis under the Attalian kings.



The city now called Bergamo is situated in lat. $39^{\circ} 13'$ N. long. $27^{\circ} 0'$ E. about sixty-four miles N. N. W. of Smyrna.

The castle of Pergamos was the place in which Lysimachus kept his treasures in his wars; and upon his death they were seized by the governor Philetærus, who employed them in establishing his own authority, and founding the Pergamenean empire. Under his successors the city was enlarged and beautified; and a noble library was formed, which soon rivalled the celebrated collection of the Ptolemies: the works of the learned were assiduously sought for, their labours patronised, their manuscripts copied, and a collection of two hundred thousand volumes rewarded the taste and munificence of the second Attalus.²⁶⁰

The Egyptian monarchs, jealous of the B. C.
increasing literary fame of Pergamos, 150.
prohibited the exportation of the Nilotic papyrus,²⁶¹ which was in common use as a writing

²⁶⁰ It is remarkable, that the works of Aristotle were at this period lying unknown in a vault in Scepsis, a city within a short distance of Pergamos.

²⁶¹ Isaiah mentions in the "burden of Egypt," "the paper reeds by the brooks, by the mouth of the brooks:" xix. 7.

material; and this gave rise to the manufacture of parchment, with which the Pergameneans began to compose their books, and which was hence called *charta Pergamena*. But "the world by wisdom knew not God;" the classic page exhibits the highest pitch of intellectual excellence and mental grandeur, associated with the lowest state of moral debasement; and the voice of inspiration is confirmed in the history of Pergamos, for though the repository of ancient learning, the message of the apocalyptic writer describes it, as "Satan's seat," infected with the *βαθὴ* or depths of Gnostical heresy.

The kingdom of Pergamos was bequeathed to the Romans by the last Attalus;²⁶²
 B. C. 133. and its library, transported by Cleopatra, to enrich the Alexandrian collection, was destroyed by the barbarous zeal of the caliphs. The provinces of Asia, contributed to erect in Pergamos a magnificent temple of Augustus, the pagoda of which, having eight columns, is represented on many of its medals. All the Pergamenean coins, according to Spanheim, bore the figure of a serpent; and we may perhaps discover the cause of this device, in the devotion of the people to the worship of *Æsculapius*. They looked back to a period in the regions of fable, when their city was favoured with his presence; and the annual games in his honour, and the erection of a temple for the celebration of his rites, testified their respect and reverence for the legend. In the *Æsculapian* worship the serpent invariably entered; a live

²⁶² "Populus Romanus tunc instituitur hæres testamento hujus."
 —Justin. lib. xxxvi. c. 4.

animal of the dracontic species was always preserved in the sanctuaries of the god; and, hence, as a "*genius loci*," and an emblem of the tutelar divinity, the serpent figures upon the coins of Pergamos.²⁶³ It is remarkable, that the city exhibiting this device upon its coins, should be stigmatised as the place "*where Satan dwelleth*" — the *old serpent* — the *dragon* of the apocalypse.

It is evident from the representation of the apocalyptic writer, that the Pergameneans were deeply sunk in superstition and vice, and familiar with the most obscene and degrading rites of heathen worship. The picture drawn by the sacred writers of the condition of the Gentile world, is gloomy and revolting; but the evidence of contemporary profane annalists, affords an ample confirmation of its fidelity. In describing the licentious manners of the Cretians, the apostle Paul cites a prophet of their own, to corroborate his statement:

Κρήτης ἀεὶ ψεύσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.²⁶⁵ — *Epimenides*.

Modern free-thinkers have attempted to find something deeply philosophical in the religious rites of the ancients; but in tracking the labyrinth of their sacred ceremonies, the most vicious scenes present themselves

²⁶³ The serpent is seen as a "*genius loci*" upon the coins of many of the towns of Asia Minor.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁵ Titus, i. 12.

²⁶⁴ Cyzicum, Pergamos, Marcianapolis, in Mysia; Aboniteichos and Amastris, in Paphlagonia; Nice and Nicomedia, in Bithynia; Tomos, in Pontus; and Mindus, in Caria — exhibit the serpent as their ensign. — *Spanheim*. 212. See *Notes at the close of the Chapter*.

in bald and undisguised deformity; and even supposing the inculcation of moral truth to have been intended in some of the mysteries, it is difficult to conceive, that any feature of its original character remained, after the nauseous and disgusting medium through which it passed.

THE CHURCH IN PERGAMOS.

Pergamos is not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, and we have no information of the time and manner in which the gospel was introduced. At the close of the first century, the omniscient Saviour addresses a church in the city, which, with a few exceptions, is commended for piety and steadfastness. The believers had already been called to suffer for the name of Christ, and one of their number, Antipas, had received the crown of martyrdom. It does not appear at what period this took place, but circumstances render it probable, that it was during the persecution of Domitian, which was then raging.²⁶⁶ For the space of thirty years, since the time of Nero, the Christians had been permitted to prosecute in peace the propagation of their religion; and to attribute the martyrdom of Antipas to his reign is improbable, as there is reason to conclude, that the persecution was then confined to the capital, and we have no certainty

²⁶⁶ Rev. ii. 13. "I know thy works—holdest fast my name—hast not denied my faith, even in those times wherein Antipas was my faithful martyr, who was slain among you."

that the church in Pergamos was then formed. It is not unlikely that the "faithful martyr" was the victim of a local tumult, as the introduction of the gospel into such a place as Pergamos, one of the chief strongholds of Satan, would excite the hostility of the people, and give rise to insult and outrage. But the believers stood firm in the fiery ordeal to which they were subject, and maintained their integrity and virtue in spite of the efforts of an infuriated populace.²⁶⁷ There were, however, some among them who had been seduced into erroneous paths, who had adopted the principles of the "Nicolaitanes," and held the "doctrine of Balaam;" and the church is admonished to "repent," and by a timely reformation avoid the judgments, to which a continuance of the impure communion would subject it.

²⁶⁷ In the *Acts of Antipas*, which are still extant, it is related, that he was one of our Saviour's first disciples, afterwards bishop of Pergamos, and put to death by being inclosed in a burning brazen bull. But the work is an evident forgery, as the Romans never put any one to death in this way. It is evident, that what is said concerning him by John, must be understood literally, and not, according to some interpreters, mystically.

DOCTRINE OF BALAAM.

It is plain from the testimony of the apocalyptic writer,²⁶⁸ in connexion with the epistles of the apostles, that improper persons at an early period, had introduced themselves into the Christian societies, who brought a scandal upon the profession they assumed; and who are described as the followers of Balaam, from the close correspondence of their conduct and character with the Mesopotamian diviner. In the apostle Peter's prophecy of the inroad of the false teachers, he describes them as "following the way of Balaam, the son of Bosor, who loved the wages of unrighteousness; but was rebuked for his iniquity, the dumb ass speaking with man's voice forbade the madness of the prophet."²⁶⁹ The same pernicious and ungodly intriguers are characterised by Jude, as having "gone in the way of Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward."²⁷⁰ Their views were selfish, their lives profligate, and their creed corrupt; a freedom from moral obligation was proclaimed; the liberty of the gospel was extended to a toleration of the most impious prac-

²⁶⁸ "But I have a few things against thee, because thou hast there them that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication:" *Rev.* ii. 14.

²⁶⁹ 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16. "Woe to thee, Balaam, thou sinner, thou madman; there is no wisdom found in thee."—*Targ. Jonathan ben Uzziel.*

²⁷⁰ Jude, 11.

tices; and the church was dishonoured by the commission of some of the most odious obscenities that ever disgraced the most impure systems of heathenism. Pergamos had been visited by these licentious liberalists; and the publication of their doctrines, so gratifying to the carnality of man, obtained the support of the vicious part of the community, and succeeded in seducing some professors of the pure faith of Christ. The practices in which they indulged were similar to those to which Balaam enticed the Israelites, to join in the festivals of the pagan gods, and as a religious observance to "eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication."

The account given by the sacred historian, of the defection of Israel, in consequence of Balaam's artifice, is thus expressed: "And Israel abode in Shittim, and the people began to commit fornication with the daughters of Moab. And they called the people to the sacrifices of their gods, and the people did eat and bowed down to their gods. And Israel joined himself unto Baal-peor."²⁷¹ That this subjection to the popular superstitions, was the consequence of an infernal stratagem on the part of the Aramæan sage, we are expressly informed by Moses: "Behold, these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel of Balaam, to commit trespass against the Lord in the matter of Peor."²⁷² His advice was doubtless the result of mortified pride, and disappointed avarice; the gold of Balak as the reward of Israel's discomfiture, was the object at which he aimed; and which he

²⁷¹ Numb. xxv. 1, 2.

²⁷² Numb. xxxi. 16.

sought to obtain, by counselling the monarch to employ the Midianitish women to engage them in the sensual practices of his own idolatry.²⁷³

The rites of Baal-peor, to which the Israelites were seduced, and the customs mentioned by the apocalyptic writer as characteristic of the early heretics in Pergamos, correspond with the ceremonies of the ancient Sabian superstition.²⁷⁴ The national gods of Assyria were worshipped with the grossest and most offensive observances; and sensual gratification as a religious ceremonial was introduced from the orientals into the Greek mythology. The Priapus of the western nations is generally identified with the

²⁷³ Orig. in Num. Hom. xx. p. 347. a. "Balaam posteaquam Dei virtute constrictus, non est permissus maledicere Israel, volens tamen placere regi Balach, ait ad eum sicut scriptum est: 'Veni, consilium do tibi.' Et quid consilii dederit ibi non apparuit, in posterioribus, tamen ipsius libri Numerorum scriptum refertur. Sed plenius in Revelatione Joannis, ubi ita continetur: 'Habes,' inquit, 'ibi quosdam, qui tenent doctrinam Balaam, qui docuit Balach, ut mitteret scandalum in conspectu filiorum Israel, ut manducarent idolis immolata, et fornicarentur.' Ex hoc ergo apparet quod nequitia usus sit Balaam, et consilium dederit regi," &c.

²⁷⁴ Spenc. de Leg. Heb. lib. ii. cap. i. sect. 4. "Ex iis [ritibus Zabæorum] alii magis crassi fuerunt et aperti; quorum nempe scopus et intentio, sine interprete aliquo, cuivis innotuerunt. In hunc censem referendi sunt ritus e filo quasi crassiore contexti, quales sunt Incurvatio in templis idolo consecratis, Fœminarum in Veneris honorem publicatio, Sacrorum peractio partibus nudatis quas honestas tegi jubet, Juramentum per Baal, idolothytarum participatio, Statuæ alicujus ad cultum erectio et dedicatio, honor religiosus imagini præstitus, Infantum Molocho immolatio, sacrum coram idolo factum, et consimiles alii, quorum usu Zabii se demonis cultui devotos esse palam et aperte profitebantur."

Baal-peor of the easterns;²⁷⁵ and the priestesses who ministered at the altars of the former, were as disgracefully distinguished by their dissolute morals, as the Midianite seducers of Israel. The passage which is rendered in our version, "and Israel *joined* himself to Baal-peor," is more accurately expressed in the Septuagint, *καὶ ἐτελέσθη Ἰσραὴλ τῷ Βεελφεγὼρ*, and in the Latin Vulgate, "*initiatuque* est Israel Beelphegor," "and Israel was *initiated* in Baal-peor."²⁷⁶ The initiatory ceremonies of the heathen ritual, generally were of the same vile and obnoxious character, and the practice of sensuality was commonly observed as a term of communion among its abandoned votaries.

The corrupt and unholy practices which followed upon Balaam's recommendation, were introduced into the primitive church by the agency of false teachers, who, actuated by equally sinister motives, were led to assume the important character of instructors of the people. To render themselves popular, they accommodated their doctrine to the depraved appetite of the natural man; the "grace of God" was turned into "lasciviousness;" and the indulgence of every unhallowed passion held to be consistent with the freedom of the gospel. Christianity became

²⁷⁵ See Orig. in Num. Hom. 20. p. 349. August. de Civ. Dei. lib. vi. c. 9. lib. vii. c. 3. Voss. de Idololatr. lib. ii. c. 7. Spencer. de Leg. Hebræ. lib. ii. c. 7. p. 297. Cumberland on Sanchoniath. p. 67. Bryant Obs. on dif. pas. of Script. p. 24. Beyer. Addit. in Seld. p. 241.

²⁷⁶ In this sense Origen understood the passage:

"Beelphegor idoli nomen est, quod apud Madionitas præcipue a mulieribus colebatur. In hujus ergo idoli *mysteriis consecratus est Israel.*" — Orig. Hom. xx. p. 349.

thus amalgamated with paganism ; the outward profession of the one, was regarded as a justification of the worst rites of the other ; and the speculative belief of the faith was proclaimed, as a complete indemnity for the debasing pleasures of the idol festival. These corrupt and dangerous notions, had not only been promulgated in Pergamos, but had found admission into the bosom of the church ; and a sharp rebuke is given to those who associated the Christian name with such scenes of obscenity and pollution.

In addition to the doctrine of Balaam, the Pergamenean church was infected with the Nicolaite heresy, which is mentioned in terms of strong reprobation in the apocalyptic epistle. The Ephesians were commended for their hatred of the deeds of the Nicolaitanes ; and the believers in Pergamos, having some members of the sect in their communion, are warned against their creed in the impressive language, "*which thing I hate.*"²⁷⁷

NICOLAITANES.

This sect is supposed to have been founded by Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch, and one of the first seven deacons of the church of Jerusalem.²⁷⁸ The information which we possess of the heresies of the first century, is exceedingly imperfect ; and it has been maintained, that the early Christian writers have con-

²⁷⁷ "So hast thou also them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans, which thing I hate:" *Rev.* ii. 15.

²⁷⁸ *Acts*, vi. 5.

founded the sect here mentioned, with the followers of Nicolaus, who belong to a subsequent era. It is evident, from the strong expressions of aversion employed by John, that the party referred to were impure in practice, as well as heterodox in sentiment. The memory of the Antiochian Nicolas is tarnished with licentious irregularities; and his disciples are represented as indulging the propensities of depraved nature, and guilty of the most infamous crimes. It is, however, doubtful, whether in strict justice Nicolas deserves to be branded with the vices of those who assumed his name; for his conduct, with reference to his wife, which Epiphanius darkly colours, is reported by Clemens Alexandrinus, a more ancient writer, in a much more favourable light.²⁷⁹ But, whatever was the character of the master, it is certain from the testimony of all the ancients, that his followers adopted principles inimical to the purity of the gospel, which exposed them to the severe threatening of a justly incensed Lord.

Theodoret relates of this sect, that their two distinguishing characteristics were folly and libertinism; the former term pointing out the erroneous and trifling dogmas they maintained, and the latter indicating their vile and unprincipled conduct. They held the community of wives; that eating meats offered to idols was lawful; that fornication and adultery were things indifferent; and thus became familiar with the worst pollutions of paganism. Regarding pleasure as the true blessedness of man, they sought it in animal enjoyments; and with a view to inspire the vulgar

²⁷⁹ Epiph. Hæres. v. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. iii.

with awe, they applied to the deity a variety of mysterious and high-sounding names. This was in imitation of a heathen custom, which Lucian mentions, *παραμικνυς ἅμα βαρβάρικα καὶ ἄσημα ὀνόματα καὶ πολυσύλλαβα*, "mingling with their rites barbarous and senseless words of many syllables." Such unmeaning titles, as Jaldabaoth, Barbelo, Caulauchauch, and Meitram, have been found upon amulets, supposed to have been used by this sect.

It was the unfortunate fate of Christianity, owing to the ignorance or malignity of its enemies, to be confounded with every heretical departure from it; and to have the impious practices of the early sectaries placed to its account. The flagitious crimes of those who walked in the "way of Cain," or "ran greedily after the error of Balaam," or held the "doctrine of the Nicolaitanes," were ascribed to the general body of Christians; and this contributed to increase the odium that had been excited against them, and to afford a plausible pretext for rapine and persecution. Many of the fathers in their writings, reprobated the sentiments and conduct of the heretics, and endeavoured to disentangle themselves from the assumed connexion with them; but the rumour had taken too firm hold upon public opinion to be silenced, and the accusation was reiterated to give to cruelty and oppression the name of justice. When the atrocities of "evil men and seducers" were thus imputed to all who profess the name of Christ, the heathen magistrate might with some plausibility think himself called upon, not only to punish, but to extirpate a race guilty of such enormities. It was this that caused a learned

apologist to exclaim, "If the crimes objected to us be really true, and we are capable of committing them, spare none of us of either sex, but slay us and our wives and children, till you eradicate a race of human beings who live after the manner of beasts. But if these charges against us are unfounded rumours and empty calumnies, it is your duty to institute an inquiry, and ascertain what our lives and opinions are."²⁸⁰

It is probable, that the "doctrine of the Nicolaitanes," condemned by the apocalyptic writer, was the same heresy as the "doctrine of Balaam," stigmatised in the preceding verse — to "commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed to idols," were the leading features of both creeds, and their identity is strongly countenanced by this similarity of character. The analogy which was first observed by the learned Cocceius, between the Hebrew word Balaam and the Greek word Nicolaus, is strikingly in favour of this conclusion: בלעם *Balaâm*, compounded of בלע *balá*, *he swallowed up or destroyed*, and עם *ám*, *the people* — Νικολαος *Nicolas*, from νικαω to *overcome*, and λαος *the people*. As a further argument in behalf of this hypothesis, in the Arabic version of Erpenius, τα εργα των Νικολαιτων²⁸¹ is rendered "*works of the Shuaibites*." Now the Arabic word *Shuaib*, according to Michaelis, is equivalent to the Hebrew word *Balaam*; the verb

²⁸⁰ ΑΛΛ' εἰ μὲν ἀλήθη τὰντα, μέδενος γενός φέισησθε· σὺν γυνάϊξι καὶ παῖσι πρόρριζας ἡμας ἀπακτένατε, εἰ γὰρ τίς ἀνθρώπων ζῇ δίκην Θερίων — εἰ δὲ λογοποιοῖ τὰντα καὶ διάβολοι κέναι — πρὸς ὕμῶν λῶπον ἐξετάσιν ποιήσασθα, βῆ δογματῶν τέ. — *Athenag. Apol. pro. Christian*, p. 30.

²⁸¹ Rev. ii. 6.

shaába signifying *he destroyed*, and the noun *shaábon* the *people*. In the Koran Shuaib is introduced to our notice as a prophet of the Midianites,²⁸² the instructor of the people in the principles of morality; and the Arabic writers in general regard him as identical with the Jethro of sacred history.²⁸³ For this notion, however, the orientals have no better authority than obscure and imperfect tradition; and, hence, Michaelis has advanced the conjecture with a striking etymological coincidence in its favour, that the Shuaib of the Koran is the same as the Balaam of the Pentateuch.

From what has been advanced we may gather, that the condition of the Pergamenean believers, when visited by the message of their Lord, was critical and dangerous; vital godliness flourished, but heretical pravity to a great extent prevailed; and to prevent the general corruption of the community, the excision of the carnal professors was necessary. To the angel of the church, the Saviour accordingly assumes the character of judge, and presents himself arrayed with a "sharp sword with two edges," to sever from the fellowship of his saints the unholy intruders. The faithful are reprov'd for tolerating them in their communion; menaced with approaching judgments

²⁸² Koran. vi. 86. xxvi. 176.

²⁸³ Al Beidâwi, *Tarikh Montakhab*. Ahmed Ebn Abd' alhalim, however, charges those who entertain this notion with ignorance. Al Kassai says, that his father's name was Sanûn, and that he was first called Boyûn, and afterwards Shoaib. He was, according to this writer, a comely person, but spare and lean, very thoughtful, and of few words. I find Prideaux writes his name Chaib, after the French translation.—*Life of Mah.* p. 24.

if their laxity is continued;²⁸⁴ and at the same time, to stimulate their obedience and perseverance, the recompense of the spiritual conqueror is exhibited: "to eat of the hidden manna," and to receive a "stone" with a "new name" written thereon, are declared to be the rewards of them that "overcome."²⁸⁵

WHITE STONE.

Though the general meaning of the allusion is sufficiently obvious, yet it is not easy to determine the particular custom to which it refers. Such signs were commonly used by the ancients in judicial, military, and domestic life, indicating by their colour or peculiar impression, the possessor to be deserving of honour or disgrace. It was an ancient custom in the eastern courts of jurisprudence, for judges to express their decisions by counters or pebbles; the white ones denoting the prisoner to be absolved from his charge, and the black ones indicating his guilt to be fully proved.

²⁸⁴ Rev. ii. 16. "Repent; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and will fight against them with the sword of my mouth."

²⁸⁵ Rev. ii. 17. "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna, and will give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it."

"Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisque lapillis,
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa.
Nunc quoque sic lata est sententia tristis:"²⁸⁶

"A custom was of old, and still remains,
Which life or death by suffrages ordains:
White stones and black within an urn are cast,
The first absolve, but fate is in the last."

The Greeks were accustomed to intimate the condemnation of the criminal to death, by inscribing his name with the letter Θ upon the judicial tablet; and, on the contrary, to express his acquittal by a Τ.

Et potis es nigram vitio prefigere Theta.

"Fixing thy stigma on the brow of vice."²⁸⁷

Θ as a token of condemnation is satisfactorily explained, as the initial letter of Θάνατος, *death*, and it is with this reference, doubtless, that we find it engraved upon *tombs*; ²⁸⁸ but of the origin of the Τ as a sign of acquittal, we have no authentic account, unless we suppose the Greeks to have derived it from the mystic and saving influence which the Egyptians attached to their Tauutic cross. If we regard the reference in the passage, as made to this judicial custom, it conveys a beautiful and important truth to them that "overcome;" and significantly intimates, that in the final judgment they shall be ab-

²⁸⁶ Ovid. Metam. lib. xv. v. 41—43. An old rhymers has it:

*"In ancient times with stones they did
In judgment-seat proceed;
By black the guilty were condemned,
The just by white were freed."*

²⁸⁷ Persius. Sat. iv. 13.

²⁸⁸ Montf. Supplent. vol. v. p. 42.

solved from the guilt and penalties of sin, and be accepted of their Lord.

The Romans made use of a kind of badge or ticket, which entitled the possessor to be admitted to the public banquets or to a private feast, his name being inscribed upon it. These tickets were called *tesseræ conviviales*; and the mention of "hidden manna" in the passage sanctions the idea, that some reference is made to these festive tokens. In the public distributions of corn, *tesseræ frumentariæ* were employed, which were engraved with the name of the person to receive the grain, with the quantity to be given. Other kinds of *tesseræ* were in common use among the ancients, as those which were distributed by the Roman emperors in the theatres; but the sort which seem to correspond most closely with the idea of the sacred writer, were the contracts of friendship called *tesseræ hospitales*. These were particular badges, to establish friendly alliances between families, which were in force for several generations unless annulled by a judicial sentence. The tessera was sometimes of wood, lead, or ivory, but generally of stone; and being divided, one part was kept by the host, and the other by his guest, one of the parties performing the alliance writing his name on each half, and exchanging it with the other. The badge was carefully preserved, and handed down to posterity in the contracting families; and the production of the symbol by the parties or their descendants when travelling, gave them a claim to hospitable treatment and friendly regard. In the following passage of Plautus, we have a practical illustration of the use of the tessera :

HANNO. O mi popularis, salve!

AGORASTOCLES. Et tu edepol, quisquis es.
Et si quid opus est, quæso, dic; atque impera,
Popularitatis caussa.

HAN. —————Habeo gratiam.
Verùm ego hñc hospitium habeo: Antidamæ filium
Quæro conmonstra, si novisti, Agorastoclem.
Ecquem adolescentem tu hñc novisti Agorastoclem?

AGOR. Siquidem tũ Antidamæ hñc quæris adoptatitium,
Ego sum ipsus, quem tu quæris.

HAN. —————Hem! quid ego audio?

AGOR. Antidamæ gnatum me esse.

HAN. —————si ita est, *tesseram*
Conferre, si vis *hospitalem*, eccam, adtuli.

AGOR. Agedum huc ostende; est par probe: nam habeo
domi. —————

HAN. O mi hospes, salve multũ! nam mihi tuus pater,
Pater tuus ergo, hospes Antidamas fuit.
Hæc mihi *hospitalis tessera* cum illo fuit.

AGOR. Ergo hñc apud me hospitium tibi præbebitur.
Nam haud repudio hospitium neque Carthaginem,
Inde sim oriundus.

HAN. —————Dii dent tibi omnes quæ velis.

HANNO. Hail, my countryman!

AGORASTOCLES. I hail thee also, in the name of Pollux,
whosoever thou art. And if thou have need of any thing,
speak, I beseech thee, and thou shalt obtain what thou askest,
for civility's sake.

HAN. I thank thee, but I have a lodging here; I seek
the son of Antidamas. Tell me if thou knowest Agorastocles:
dost thou know in this place the young Agorastocles?

AGOR. If thou seek the adopted son of Antidamas, I am
the person whom thou seekest.

HAN. Ha! What do I hear?

AGOR. Thou hearest that *I am* the son of Antidamas.

HAN. If it be so, compare, if thou pleasest, the *hospitable* tessera: here it is, I have brought it with me.

AGOR. Come then, reach it hither: it is the exact counterpart; I have the other at home.

HAN. O, my friend, I am very glad to see thee, for thy father was my friend; therefore Antidamas thy father was my guest. I divided this *hospitable tessera* with him.

AGOR. Therefore, a lodging shall be provided for thee with me; I reverence hospitality, and I love Carthage where I was born.

HAN. May all the gods grant thee whatsoever thou wishest.²⁸⁹

This hospitable practice of the ancients, was early introduced into the church; and one of the acts of the Nicene fathers was to prevent the numerous counterfeits of the tessera, which the heretics circulated. The council sanctioned those alone, which were marked with the initials of the words Πατηρ, Υιος, Αγιον, Πνευμα. To so late a period as the twelfth century, the use of this symbol of friendship was continued; for Buchardus, archbishop of Worms, in the year 1100, refers to the practice in a visitation sermon, as being then in use. It is likely, that the apocalyptic writer alludes to the *tessera*—the “white stone,” having a “new name,” written thereon, “which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it,” perfectly agrees with the oriental symbol of alliance; and the allusion in this sense would be well understood by the eastern Christians, as intimating a title to the most valuable immunities and honours. Divesting the

²⁸⁹ Plautus. *Pœnulus*. act. v. sc. 2. ver. 80.

passage of its metaphor, it imports to the faithful Pergameneans, that overcoming the attacks of the heretical seducers, they should receive a sign of the affection of their Lord, have the affinity of friendship eternally established between them, and be admitted to the enjoyment of the greatest and most desirable privileges.²⁹⁰

In tracing the subsequent history of the church of Pergamos, the materials that we have are exceedingly imperfect. In common with the other societies of the Lesser Asia, it experienced the fierce inroads of persecution, with but few intervals of rest until the time of Constantine. The succeeding chapter will show us Smyrna and Pergamos instrumental in planting the gospel in Gaul; and Attalus, a native of the latter city, fell a victim to the cruelty of Marcus in Lyons. Two other martyrs, Carpus and Papulus, suffered in the time of Decius; and Pergamos witnessed in their conduct, the example of her "faithful Antipas" nobly imitated. The uncompromising firmness of the primitive Christians under their grievous injuries, is

attested by Galen the physician, who, in
 A. D. Pergamos, where he was born and lived
 193. for several years, had most probably witnessed some spectacles of heroic endurance.

"It is easier," says he, "to convince the disciples of Moses and Christ, than physicians and philosophers who are addicted to particular sects." It must have

²⁹⁰ Engravings of the tesserae may be seen in Grævii Thesaur.: Pitisci Lexic.; and Poleni Suppl. They were square, having four corners or angles, as the name imports. "Illi *τεσσαρην*, vocabant figuram quamvis *quadratum*, quæ *quatuor angulos* haberet."—*Pitisci. Lexic.*

been an impressive sight to a reflecting heathen, notwithstanding his pride and prejudices, to behold those who were taught to be "poor in spirit," "waxing valiant in fight"—shaming by their mild devotedness the boasted stoicism of the Gentile sage—exhibiting additional energy under augmented suffering—a sight which must have conveyed to many minds an irresistible conviction of the direct interference of Heaven.

For several centuries Pergamos continued to send a bishop to the councils of the church, and retained traces of evangelical light and purity when almost every feature had been distorted throughout the east. In the fourth century Dracontius was deposed from the see; but no reason is assigned for this by Socrates besides his removal from Galatia.²⁹¹ At a synod held at Antioch, to settle the controversies which ensued upon the publication of the Nicene creed, Barlamenus of Pergamos was present. It does not appear who this individual was; but his name is appended to the address presented to the emperor Jovian, confirming the Nicene formulary. We now lose sight of Pergamos in pursuing the course of Christian history; it fell with the other churches of the east, under the yoke of antichrist; and not until the bloody drama of Moslem invasion and red-cross chivalry had terminated, have we any further notices of it.

²⁹¹ Socrat. Schol. lib. ii. c. 42.



BERGAMO.

The ruins of ancient Pergamos in the modern city, have been largely examined and elegantly described by Dallaway; and its remains of Christian and classical antiquity demand a brief survey. The Acropolis exhibited in the sketch, goes back to the time of Lysimachus, though much of its present form belongs to the era of the decline of the Greek empire. It occupies a mountain which rises about two hundred feet above the plain; and it is probable, from the ruins with which the cliff is covered, that the principal part of the ancient city was confined to it. An area on the summit of the hill was once the seat of a splendid temple, the broken pillars of which are now lying prostrate, having been perforated and used

probably by the Turks for cannon. The temple of Minerva, Vitruvius tells us, was built "in excelsissimo loco;"²⁹² and from this site the traveller may behold the blue mountains of Mytilene, and the waters of the Ægean stretching onward to the Bosphorus.

Of the celebrated temple of Æsculapius there are no remains. This edifice in the time of the Romans had the privilege of an asylum; and a vast concourse of votaries thronged continually around its altars. The priests distributed remedies, and practised surgery; and every cure that was performed, was hailed as the direct interference of the local deity. The emperor Caracalla, however, propitiated Æsculapius in vain, the god remained deaf to his entreaties, and in spite of his journey to Pergamos the monarch died. The site of this structure is now unknown; the impostures practised in it were terminated by the increasing influence of the gospel, and the destruction of what was emphatically "Satan's seat," followed upon its triumph.

On the declivity of the hill, Smith noticed a marble stone about seven spans in length and two in breadth, with this inscription:

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ.

Bergamo contains but few specimens of the works of ancient art, for which the city formerly was renowned. The Romans were introduced to the use of tapestry, when the palace of the Attalian kings came into their possession; and the tessellated pavements of Pergamos were in great repute at that era.

²⁹² Vit. lib. i. c. 7.

When speaking of the perfection to which the art of Mosaic had been carried, Pliny mentions an exquisite specimen at Pergamos. "There is," says he, "at Pergamos, a wonder of the art; a dove drinking, the head of which casts a dark shade upon the water; others are sunning and pluming themselves on the rim of the vessel."²⁹³ An ancient Mosaic is preserved in the Museum Capitolinum at Rome, representing four doves drinking, which has been supposed to be the one described by Pliny as existing in his time in Pergamos. A few solitary vases alone remain in Bergamo, to attest the ingenuity of its ancient inhabitants.

Among the remains of Christian antiquity which still exist, the ruins of a church of Agios Theologos, or St. John, are pointed out, supposed to have been one of the erections of the emperor Theodosius. The Greeks still occasionally repair to it; and some wretched paper saints are hung up on its mouldering walls. On the banks of the Selinus there is another ancient church, called Sancta Sophia, now used by the Turks as a mosque. This structure tradition regards as the identical church in which the disciples met to whom John wrote; and what was said to be the tomb of Antipas was once shown in it. "The state of the Christians here," says Smith, "is sad and deplorable, there being not above fifteen families of them." Since his visit in 1671, the Christian population has, however, considerably increased; and

²⁹³ "Mirabilis ibi (Pergamis) columba bibeus et aquam umbra capitis infuscans: apricantur aliæ scabentes sese in canthari labro."
— *Plin.* lib. xxxv. c. 25.

about one thousand five hundred Greeks now reside in the town.

Mr. Arundel, in his journal, remarks, "At twelve o'clock the grand plain of Pergamos was in full view before us. At a quarter past one the river Ak-son (Caicus) was again by our road on the right, and in the front distance rose the majestic Acropolis of Pergamos. We arrived at a mill soon after, and remained there till a quarter after three. The miller, a Greek, came up to me, as seated under a tree, with Pergamos before me; I was reading the message to the angel of that church, in the Greek testament. The poor man earnestly begged me to give him some medical assistance; I gave him what advice I could, accompanied by a medicine of great efficacy, the book which I was reading. The poor fellow received it most gratefully, lamenting that he could not read himself, but he had children, he said, who should read it to him."

"Thursday, September 21st.—I accompanied a Greek priest to his church, the only church at present in Pergamos; it lies on the ascent of the castle hill, and is a poor shed covered with earth. Though the sun was blazing in full splendour on all the scene without, this poor church was so dark within, that even with the aid of a glimmering lamp, I could not distinctly see the figures on the screen. On one side of it, another priest kept a little school of thirty scholars. I gave him a testament. The contrast between the magnificent remains of the church of St. John, which lay beneath, and this its poor representative, is as striking as between the poverty of the pre-

sent state of religion among the modern Greeks, and the rich abundance of gospel light which once shone within the walls of the Agios Theologos."²⁹⁴

On a broken stone in the wall of the court of this church, Mr. Turner copied the inscription —

ΩΝΕΙΣ
ΝΙΑΥΤΟΝΙ
ΤΟΥ ΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧ.

On the wall of a Greek house near the church, there were various others.

The Christians in Bergamo are under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Elaia, who is a suffragan of the bishop of Ephesus. The resident clergy are poor and ignorant, and Christianity exists in name and profession, rather than in spirit and practice. A recent visiter thus describes the ceremony of baptism:—"In the morning I went to the Greek church, to see the ceremony of baptism. The children were about twenty days old; they were dipped entirely in the water, and were not dressed, but only covered with linen loosely; during and after the immersion, prayers were read over them; a scarf was then laid over the shoulders of the godfather or godmother, who walked round the font, holding the child with two lighted candles before it: then leaving the church, the whole party walked home, preceded by the priest, the godfather or godmother still carrying the child with the two candles crossed before it." The Greeks hold, that baptism has not been properly administered, unless the person has been immersed three times, once

²⁹⁴ Arundel. p. 281.

in the name of the Father, a second time in the name of the Son, and a third time in the name of the Holy Ghost. They are in general fond of the names of their celebrated ancestors; and a modern Themistocles or Leonidas, vending his wares or strolling in rags and poverty, is not an unfrequent sight.

We take leave of Pergamos with mournful feelings — its literature, arts, and religion, have alike disappeared — and under the dominion of a false creed and a corrupt faith, it is now a scene of spiritual blindness and mental degradation. When it shall shake off the fetters of superstitious observance, and the truth regain its ancient influence, and the preserved remnant be delivered from the bondage of the Ottoman and the yoke of antichristian apostacy — is a problem for the future to solve.

NOTES.

Æsculapius. — In Lucian we have the substance of the following curious story:

“A native of Aboniteichos, Alexander by name, being involved in pecuniary difficulties while left in Greece, determined to practice upon the credulity of his contemporaries in the character of a magician. For this purpose he went with a chosen companion to Pella, in Macedonia; a place remarkable for a singular custom (which, however, had existed from time immemorial), that of *nourishing tame serpents* of prodigious size, to be playfellows and companions of their infant children. Having purchased one of these animals, he sailed to Chalcedon; and there, among the ruins of an old temple of Apollo, pretended to dig up two brazen tablets, ‘which had been deposited by *Æsculapius*,’ and which bore this inscription: ‘*Æsculapius, and his father Apollo, intend to come into Pontus, and take up their abode at Aboniteichos.*’ To Aboniteichos accordingly the impostors went, with their Macedonian serpent: but before they arrived there, the companion of Alexander died. This event, however, by no means disconcerted him. The natives, forewarned, had prepared a temple for his reception; and in this he took up his abode. On an appointed day, he proposed to exhibit the god *Æsculapius* to the people, having previously enclosed a small snake in an egg-shell, and concealed it in a convenient place. When the multitude had assembled in eager expectation, he approached the spot where the egg-shell had been deposited, and muttering certain ‘*Hebrew and Phœnician words*,’ unintelligible to the people, (who could only catch the words ‘*Apollo*,’ ‘*Æsculapius*,’ occasionally introduced), he plunged in his hand, and producing the egg-shell, exclaimed that ‘*the god was within*.’ Breaking the shell, he drew out the young snake, which was unanimously hailed as the expected god. From that day, his reputation as the familiar servant of *Æsculapius* was established. In a few days afterwards he exhibited the large serpent *within his vest*, as the same god *Æsculapius* whom they had seen in his first state. The admiration of the people at the rapid growth of the god, confirmed their original impression of his divinity. For this serpent the impostor contrived a mask with a human face made of linen, and persuaded the votaries that such was the form under which *Æsculapius* chose to appear. He gave the serpent the name of GLYCON, and declared that he was ‘*the third child of Jupiter, and the light of men*.’ Henceforward he pretended that Glycon was *oracular*, and by ventriloquism caused him to give responses. Thousands of inquirers flocked from all parts of the Roman empire to this second Delphi; and Alexander having carried on the gainful imposture for many years, left a memorial of it upon the coins and medals of Aboniteichos.”

Calmet and some others suppose, that the serpent became a symbol of *Æsculapius*, the god of healing, from some tradition of the brazen serpent in the wilderness.

CHAPTER VII.

LYONS AND VIENNE.

Κρίσμα δὲ ἐστὶ φωκαίων ἡ Μασίλια.

Strabo. Rerum. Georg. lib. iv.

Massilienses misère legatos Romam, deprecatum veniam pro
Phocensibus suis conditoribus.

Justin. lib. xxxvii.

Phocæorum

Velut profugit execrata civitas,
Agros atque lares patrios, habitandaque fana
Apris reliquit et rapacibus lupis.

Horace. ep. xvi.

*Phocéans. — Massilia. — The ancient Lugdunum. — Vienne. — Colo-
nised from Asia. — Martyrs. — Apocalypse in Gaul. — Attalus of
Pergamos. — Pothinus. — Irenæus. — Poor Men of Lyons.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the enlightened zeal with which the propagation of the gospel is conducted, the moderns in many of their measures have but imitated a primitive model. Navigation and commercial enterprise, now so intimately connected with religious

exertion, were associated with the same object by the early planters of the faith. We have an instance of this in the introduction of Christianity into Gaul; and it will be necessary to glance at northern Europe, in order to illustrate the active and enterprising zeal of the seven Asian churches. At the commencement of the second century, the gospel was transported from the Lesser Asia into the woods of Gaul; and the two flourishing churches of Lyons and Vienne, rewarded the pious endeavours of the Christians of Smyrna and Pergamos.

When the Phocæans abandoned their ancient city, in the vicinity of Smyrna, to escape the tyranny of the Persians, in the sixth century before Christ, their vessels, after traversing the Mediterranean, landed them in Gaul, where they founded the celebrated Massilia of the Romans, the modern Marseilles. Other places in the neighbourhood were colonised by the migratory Greeks; and the arts, refinements, and productions of the east were introduced among the barbarians of the north. The adventurous spirit of commerce, kept up a constant intercourse between the new settlements and the mother country; friendly offices were frequently exchanged; and the Massilians on one occasion succeeded by their mediation, in averting the Roman vengeance from their eastern countrymen.²⁹⁵ About a century before the Christian era, Massilia came under the jurisdiction of the Romans; and was distinguished by Cicero, with the flattering title of the Athens of

²⁹⁵ Justin, lib. xxxvii.

the Gauls.²⁹⁶ The trade of the Mediterranean, was principally conducted by the merchants of Marseilles, and the maritime towns of the Lesser Asia; and when Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamos had received the gospel, the ties of ancient alliance, and the facilities of commercial communication, led to its propagation on the banks of the Rhone.

The cities of Vienne and Lyons, about the year 177, contained large and flourishing churches, which owed their origin to the east, and principally to colonies from Smyrna and Pergamos. Lyons, the ancient Lugdunum, situated at the junction of the Arar with the Rhone, in direct communication with the Mediterranean, was connected at that period with the trade of the Levant; and Pothinus, of Asian extraction by his name, and Irenæus a Smyrnæan, with Attalus of Pergamos, and others, whose names are evidently Greek, adorned its Christian history. The city was rising with new splendour from the ashes of a conflagration, which had ravaged it in the time of Nero;²⁹⁷ and commanding the whole of central France, the capital of a Roman province, the residence of the governor, and seated in the heart of the Celtæ, it was a favourable position for the dissemination of the gospel. Vienne was a place of great antiquity, and frequently visited by Cæsar in his wars;²⁹⁸ and being only a short

²⁹⁶ Agricola was educated at Massilia as "locum Græcâ comitate et pro vinciali parcimonia mistum, ac bene compositum." — *Tacit. vit. Agric. c. iv.*

²⁹⁷ "Una nox," says Seneca, "interfuit inter maximam urbem et nullem."

²⁹⁸ Cæs. De. bel. Gal. lib. vii. c. 9.

distance from Lyons, on the opposite bank of the Rhone, it shared the labours of the Asiatic Christians.

During the persecution of Marcus Antoninus, the "tribulation" announced by the apocalyptic writer to the church of Smyrna, was extended to its Gallic branches. The lightning that played around the parent tree, struck with fearful force its distant offshoots. An affecting account of the sufferings of the martyrs in Gaul, was afterwards drawn up by the churches of Lyons and Vienne, and sent to their brethren in Asia and Phrygia as the mother country of the persecuted.²⁹⁰ It is impossible to read this epistle, without observing the striking coincidences which it presents, with the prophetic intimations given in the message to the Smyrnæans. The outpouring of pagan vengeance, and a lengthened period of fiery trial, was announced in the peculiar and decisive tone of prophecy to the parent community; and the close agreement of these intimations, with the continued history of the Gallic colonies, might almost sanction the conclusion, that their fate was embraced in the sacred disclosure.

During the persecution, Pothinus, the bishop, died

²⁹⁰ Valesius remarks in a note in Eusebius, respecting the epistle being written in Greek, "There were many Grecians in the church of Lyons, as was Attalus, and Alexander, the Phrygian, and Alcibiades, who was by original extract a Phrygian likewise. Also Irenæus was born in Asia. The very name also of Pothinus, the bishop, shows him to have been originally a Grecian. It is no wonder, therefore, that those who came out of Asia into the Gallia's should write to their brethren that were in Asia concerning their affairs."—*lib. v. c. 1.*

in prison; Attalus of Pergamos was thrown to the beasts; Alexander, a Phrygian physician, suffered the same fate; and the mutilated remains of the martyrs being burnt, their ashes were cast into the waters of the Rhone. For such scenes the Lyonese Christians had doubtless been prepared by apocalyptic prophecy; with the message to Smyrna, from which city some of their members had come, they of course would be familiar; and recurring to its animating promises in the season of their extremity, they triumphed in the prospect of the "crown of life," which they found exhibited upon its page. That the apocalypse was at this period in Gaul, and recognised as of canonical authority, the references that are made to some of its passages in the Gallic circular plainly show. A Smyrnæan dragged before the Roman magistrate, for professing the name of Christ, although a wanderer among the Celts, would recognise in his bonds the accomplishment of the impressive warning given to the eastern church; identify in his own personal history that characteristic of suffering declared to be the heritage of the community from which he had been detached; and appropriate to himself, with a striking peculiarity, the rewards held out to the overcoming saint.

Pothinus was succeeded in his dangerous station by Irenæus, the zealous combatant of heresy, who had been a presbyter in the days of the persecution. We have already seen this eminent Christian intimate with Polycarp; trained up from his boyhood under his care in Smyrna;³⁰⁰ and, hence, it is likely that he

³⁰⁰ Page 210.

was a native of the city, and came out with the other believers to evangelize Gaul. To his pen the composition of the Gallic epistle is generally attributed; and under his superintendence, Christianity was firmly rooted in the soil of France. In his efforts to spread the gospel among the Celtæ, he overcame the difficulties of their rude and barbarous dialect, penetrated into the gloomy shades of their forests, and, if we may credit Gregory of Tours, finished a laborious life a martyr for the truth.³⁰¹

The faith of Christ retained much of its primitive purity and vigour in Gaul, long after the "fine gold" had become "dim" among the easterns. When the arms of Alaric had shook the throne of the Cæsars, and the shrill voice of the Hun was heard on the banks of the Tiber, the conquering savage was arrested in his career by the influence of Christian truth; and the barbarians who erected their first monarchy in the south of France, were drawn from the rude worship of their fathers by the successors of the Asian colonists. In after ages the district watered by the Rhone, was the ark in which a remnant of primitive purity was preserved, when the deluge of papal apostacy and error had over-spread the face of Christendom. By the Vaudois in the neighbouring valleys of Savoy, and the "poor men of Lyons," or the followers of Peter

³⁰¹ "After several torments Irenæus was put to death, and together with him almost all the Christians of that populous city, whose numbers could not be reckoned; so that the streets of Lyons flowed with the blood of Christians." *Greg.*—Eusebius and Tertullian are silent as to his martyrdom, which certainly renders the account suspicious.

Waldo, the haughty pretensions of Rome were resisted, when Europe lay prostrate at the footstool of the papal chair; and the light that was brought from the "seven golden candlesticks," though often struggling and almost extinguished by the surrounding darkness, continued to glimmer in the scene of its early radiance, until it forced back the night of monkish ignorance, and brightened into the day-dawn of the Reformation.

NOTES.

EXTRACTS FROM THE EPISTLE OF THE
CHURCHES OF LYONS AND VIENNE.

"The servants of Christ, sojourning in Vienne and Lyons, in France, to the brethren in Asia Propria, and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption with us, peace, and grace, and glory, from God the Father, and Jesus Christ our Lord.

"We are not competent to describe with accuracy, nor is it in our power to express the greatness of the affliction sustained here by the saints, the intense animosity of the heathen against them, and the complicated sufferings of the blessed martyrs. The grand enemy assaulted us with all his might; and by his first essays, exhibited intentions of exercising malice without limits and without control. He left no method untried, to habituate his slaves to his bloody work, and to prepare them by previous exercises against the servants of God. Christians were absolutely prohibited from appearing in any houses except their own, in baths, in the market, or in any public place whatever. The grace of God, however, fought for us, preserving the weak, and exposing the strong, who, like pillars, were able to withstand him in patience, and to draw the whole fury of the wicked against themselves."

Pothinus.

"The blessed Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, upwards of ninety years of age, and very infirm and asthmatic, yet strong in spirit, and panting after martyrdom, was dragged before the tribunal; his body was worn out indeed with age and disease,

yet he retained a soul through which Christ might triumph. Borne by the soldiers to the tribunal, and attended by the magistrates and all the multitude, shouting against him as if he were Christ himself, he made a good confession. Being asked by the governor who was the God of the Christians; he answered, 'If ye be worthy, ye shall know.' He was then unmercifully dragged about, and suffered a variety of ill treatment: those who were near, insulted him with their hands and feet, without the least respect to his age; and those at a distance threw at him whatever came to hand; every one looked upon himself as deficient of zeal, if he did not insult him in some way or other. For thus they imagined they revenged the cause of their gods. He was thrown into prison almost breathless, and after two days expired. Maturus, Sanctus, Blandina, and Attalus, were led to the wild beasts into the amphitheatre, to the common spectacle of Gentile inhumanity.

"Attalus also was vehemently demanded by the multitude; for he was a person of great reputation among us. He advanced in all the cheerfulness and serenity of a good conscience; an experienced Christian, and ever ready and active in bearing testimony to the truth. He was led round the amphitheatre, and a tablet was carried before him, inscribed in Latin, 'This is Attalus the Christian.' The rage of the people would have had him despatched immediately; but the governor understanding that he was a Roman, ordered him back to prison: and concerning him and others, who could plead the same privilege of Roman citizenship, he wrote to the emperor, and waited for his instructions."

Attalus of Pergamos, and Alexander of Phrygia.

After a short interval the Cæsar sent orders that the believers should be put to death.

"During their examination, a man who had lived many years in France, and was generally known for his love of God and zealous regard for divine truth, a person of apostolical endowments, a physician by profession, a Phrygian by nation, and named Alexander, stood near the tribunal, as one who travailed in much pain on their account. And now the multitude, incensed at the Christian integrity exhibited at the conclusion by the lapsed, made a clamour against Alexander as the cause of this change. Upon which the governor ordered him into his presence, and asked him who he was: he declared that he was a Christian: the former in great wrath condemned him instantly to the wild beasts; and the next day he was introduced with Attalus. For the governor, willing to gratify the people, delivered Attalus again to the wild beasts; and these two underwent all the usual methods of torture in the amphitheatre: indeed they sustained a very grievous conflict, and at length expired. Alexander neither groaned nor spake a word, but in his heart conversed with God. Attalus, sitting on the iron chair and being scorched, when the smell issued from him, said to the multitude in Latin, 'This indeed which YE do is to devour men; but WE devour not our fellow-creatures, nor practise any other wickedness.' Being asked what is the name of God; he answered, 'God has not a name as men have.'"

CHAP. VIII.

THYATIRA.

Καί τις γυνή ὀνόματι Λυδία, πορφυρόπωλις πόλει ΘΥΑΤΕΙΡΩΝ.

ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ cap. xvi. v. 14.

Lydia.—*Tiberius.*—*Diana, Goddess of the Mountains.*—*Inscription.*—CHURCH IN THYATIRA. *Epistle.*—*The Woman Jezebel.*—*Punishment.*—*Epiphanius.*—*Montanus.*—AK-HISSAR. *Tyria.*—*Mr. Parsons.*—*Plain.*—*Fertility.*—*Almond Trees.*—*Bishop of Ephesus.*

THE seat of the fourth apocalyptic church, the ancient Thyatira, occupied the centre of an extensive plain; and was situated almost at right-angles with Smyrna and Pergamos. The country in its neighbourhood was celebrated for its fertility and fruits, and supplied the markets of the east with vast quantities of corn and cotton. Its inhabitants were early addicted to the pursuits of commerce: “Lydia, a seller of purple,³⁰² of Thyatira,” was in Macedonia at the

³⁰² Πορφυροπωλις from Πορφυρα, a kind of shell-fish, highly esteemed by the ancients for yielding a fine purple colour used in dyeing.

time of Paul's visit ; and the discovery of an ancient inscription, on the site of the Asiatic city, which makes mention of the "dyers," attests the former proficiency of the people in the art.

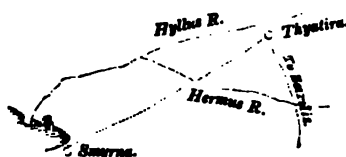
Thyatira is mentioned by the ancient writers under various names, but little is known of its history prior to the Roman conquest of Asia. Upon the defeat of Antiochus, by Lucius Cornelius Scipio, at Magnesia ad Sipylum, the town sent ambassadors with offers of submission ; but its final annexation to the empire did not take place until the fall of the kingdom of Pergamos, when it was taken by the consul Perpenna. The emperor Tiberius distinguished it by his munificence, when injured by an earthquake in his reign ; a temple of Adrian is mentioned in an inscription ; and Caracalla, after numerous benefactions, allowed it to take the title of Neocoron, which appears upon a medal of the town.

The plain in which Thyatira was situated, is bounded on almost every side by a range of mountains ; and the inhabitants in the times of paganism, honoured Diana as the patron goddess of their hills. Memorials of their devotion to her worship, in this character, appear in inscriptions upon mouldering stones and columns. An ancient monument was found by Smith, which he describes as having been erected in honour of one of her priestesses, Ulpia Marcella, by the senate and people. Upon a broken stone in a wall, near a fountain, he traced the following remains of an inscription :

APTEMIAI : . : . OPEIT.

"To Diana, goddess of the mountains."

Mountains have ever been sacred to liberty and religion: the cities of the ancients were generally erected in their neighbourhood, as convenient strongholds in time of invasion and war; and, hence, as places of retreat in dangerous emergencies, they were frequently consecrated by the pagans, and put under the protection of their divinities.



Thyatira was in lat. $39^{\circ} 5'. 10''$. N. and long. $27^{\circ} 48'. 15''$. E.

THE CHURCH IN THYATIRA.

The inspired narrative is silent as to the introduction of Christianity into the city; but probably it was owing to the active piety and zeal of Lydia. Having left Thyatira to reside in Philippi, she received Paul and Silas into her household in the latter city; and the sacred historian records her name as one "whose heart the Lord opened." Connected with Thyatira, not only by birth, but perhaps by mercantile pursuits, she might become the means of introducing the gospel, and establishing a church in her native town. The circumstance of the Christians here being addressed by

the evangelist, denotes that the truth had made considerable progress, and that a church had been formed, which occupied at that era an important station among the communities of Asia.

The epistle to Thyatira exhibits features of a varied and totally opposite character: the heights of religious attainment in contrast with the "depths of Satan" — a church "exalted to heaven" by the lustre of its piety, at the same time "brought down to hell" by heretical debasement — and, consequently, addressed with the denunciations of divine anger, while the faithful are cheered by a prospect of final recompense. It is obvious from the terms of commendation employed, that many of its members were walking in the light and purity of the gospel,³⁰³ at once the support and ornament of the rising faith. But this fair scene of primitive excellence, was disfigured by the machinations of the early corrupters; and the abominations introduced by the "woman Jezebel," are specified in terms of the strongest reprobation.³⁰⁴

There has been no slight diversity of opinion respecting the reference of this term, whether indicating a person or a sect. Grotius and Calmet understood it to signify a woman of rank and influence, connected with the church in Thyatira, who corrupted the faith, seduced some of its members to the practice of heathen

³⁰³ "I know thy works and charity and service; — the last to be more than the first." — *Rev.* ii. 19.

³⁰⁴ "Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols." — *Rev.* ii. 20.

impurities, after the example of the idolatrous queen of Israel.³⁰⁵ Others, and especially the ancient commentators,³⁰⁶ supposed the "woman Jezebel" to point out a sect of false teachers, who infested the church; because, in the language of scripture metaphor, it is not uncommon to represent a people or party under the general designation of a woman. There is indeed a third interpretation, which supposes the wife of the bishop to be intended. This is founded upon a different reading of the text, sanctioned by the authority of important MSS. *την γυναικα σου Ιεζαβηλ, thy wife Jezebel.*³⁰⁷

The errors taught by the person or party alluded to, were identically the same as those we have noticed in the Nicolaite heresy, "to commit fornication and to eat things sacrificed to idols;" and this sanctions the idea, that a branch of that community existing in Thyatira, and not an individual female is spoken of. In Hebrew allegory the Jewish church was represented as a *virgin*, to denote her purity; to signify her happiness in the favour of her Lord, and firm attachment to the truth, she was described as a *bride*; while in ages of deterioration, and idolatrous intercourse, she became a wanderer from "her first husband," and an *harlot*. The representations of the Christian church in the New Testament, are in exact accor-

³⁰⁵ 1 Kings, xvi. 31. The term was common with the early Christian writers as one of reproach. Justina, a patroness of Arianism, had the epithet bestowed profusely upon her.

³⁰⁶ Papias, Irenæus, and Methodius, according to Andreas Cæsariensis, and Arethas, and Bede among the ancients; among the moderns, Hammond, Vitranga, &c.

³⁰⁷ Griesbach in loc.

dance with the ancient figure: the relations of bridegroom, bride, and wife, are sustained during the continuance of her fidelity; while in connexion with the "man of sin" she becomes an adulteress, and is repudiated as the "mother of harlots and abominations." It is likely, then, that the name of the foul idolatress of ancient Israel, designates a party among the Thyatirans, who had erred from the truth, and were guilty of her impious designs and impure practices. Jezebel sought to overthrow the ancient worship of Israel, by introducing the revolting rites of Astarte and Baal; and a similar amalgamation of the gospel with the obscenities of the heathen ritual, marked the designs and conduct of the early heretics.

The punishment denounced upon the Jezebel of Thyatira in the epistle, affords another reason for supposing a sect in a figurative sense to be intended: "I will kill her children with death." Upon this passage Vitranga remarks, that the disciples of the seducers, figuratively their children, would, by their own perverse conduct, draw down upon themselves such punishment, when the innocent children of a bad woman might justly be spared.³⁰⁸ The doctrines held by the corrupt party are denominated the "depths of Satan," to express the subtle and abandoned principles they inculcated. Many of the early heretics to obtain credit with the vulgar, affected to be familiar with deep and hidden mysteries, in imitation of the mysteries of the gospel, and the "deep things of God," *τα βαθύ τα Θεα*, mentioned by the apostle.³⁰⁹ This was

³⁰⁸ Vitranga in loc.

³⁰⁹ 1 Cor. ii. 10.

particularly the case with reference to every branch of the Gnostic sect; and by this artful policy, many were seduced to regard their "philosophy and vain deceit," as the profound secrets of divine wisdom. The Saviour, however, who revealed himself to the Thyatirans, as "He which searcheth the reins and hearts," describes their βαθυ in their true character, as the "depths of Satan,"³¹⁰ originating in the subtilty, and designed to uphold the dominion of, the great adversary. The Thyatirans were thus beset with pernicious doctrines: the incipient sophistry of the Gnostic, and the vicious indulgences of paganism, were employed to undermine their faith; and solemn warnings are issued, and animating promises given, to preserve them from the seductions of heresy. To him that overcometh, "power over the nations" is awarded, or a final triumph over all the enemies of the assailed religion; and "I will give him," says the Supreme Head, "the morning star."

From a relation in Epiphanius it appears, that the seducers obtained in the primitive times a temporary triumph over the faithful in Thyatira; and that for a time one of the seven golden lamps was nearly extinguished. Speaking of the sect of the Alogi, he observes, that they rejected the Revelations as fabulous; because, as one reason, in their times there was no Christian church in the city. But it "follows not," says Epiphanius, "although in their days there was no church there, therefore there was none in

³¹⁰ "But unto you I say—as many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan as they speak."—*Rev. ii. 24.*

John's time: the Spirit of God did foreshow the defection of this church, by prophesying of the false prophetess, Jezebel; that is, of certain women who deceived many, falsely boasting of a prophetic spirit, as, namely, Priscilla, and Maximilla, and Quintilla, harlots of Montanus, who taught the heresy of the Cataphrygians."—But "now," says he, "by the grace of God, there is a church in that place which flourishes, and some others thereabout, although formerly the whole church was fallen away, and had embraced the aforesaid heresy. The spirit of God did reveal, that, soon after the apostles and their successors, the church should fall into many errors."³¹¹ It seems from this, that Epiphanius interpreted the "woman Jezebel," as prophetically referring to the Montanists, Priscilla and Maximilla, women of depraved morals, who assisted Montanus in the propagation of his doctrines. But this heresy did not arise until the middle of the second century; whereas the language of the epistle plainly indicates, that the evils reprehended existed then in Thyatira. It is not, however, improbable, but that the corrupters designated by the appellation, might have some female teachers among them of a similar character to the prophetesses of Montanus.

The disciples of Montanus, commonly designated Phrygians, from the country of their master, introduced themselves into most of the churches of Asia Minor; and Eusebius represents them as diffused like venomous serpents over the whole surface of the peninsula.³¹²

³¹¹ Epiphanius. Hæres. 51.

³¹² Euseb. lib. v. c. 14.

Montanus professed to be the Paraclete or Comforter, which the Saviour had promised unto his followers; and, according to the testimony of Epiphanius, by his agents the faith was corrupted in Thyatira, and the purity of the church destroyed. But at the close of the fourth century, when he wrote, the Thyatirans were again flourishing in the light and truth of the gospel; the tide of heresy which had flowed in upon them had been stemmed; the threatened punishment had probably been inflicted upon Jezebel and her children; and Epiphanius describes the Christians in Thyatira and its neighbourhood, as reclaimed in his day from the foul errors which had been embraced, and, consequently, restored to the communion of the orthodox churches.

We now bid farewell to ancient Thyatira; in the succeeding centuries it was doubtless subject to the same vicissitudes as the other cities of Asia; religion experienced the same decay and ultimate conversion into debasing superstition; and a modern era presents to our notice the city to which John wrote, under the the altered title of Ak-hissar or the "White Castle."

AK-HISSAR.

So ignorant are the Greeks of their own antiquities, that Tyria, a town in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, probably the Tyriæum of Xenophon, was long mistaken for the Thyatira of sacred history. Several inscriptions have, however, been discovered

by travellers in the immediate vicinity of Ak-hissar, containing the ancient name, which satisfactorily determines it to be the modern Thyatira. But few remains of antiquity exist in Ak-hissar, to demonstrate its former extent and consequence. The relics of the temples of heathenism, and the churches of the primitive era, have either been buried under accumulated rubbish, or destroyed by Turkish caprice, or incorporated in modern buildings. "Very few ancient buildings," says Smith, "remain here; we could not find any ruins of churches; and inquiring of the Turks about it, they told us there were several great buildings of stone under ground, which we were very apt to believe from what we had observed in other places, where digging somewhat deep, they met with strong foundations, that without all question have formerly supported great buildings." Instead of the stately structures of the early Christian hierarchy which once existed, nine mosques of the false prophet, and one church for the Greeks, exhibiting upon its walls the symbols of a corrupt faith, attest the fulfilment here of the predicted apostacy.

Ak-hissar is at present a considerable place; the following statistics were obtained by Mr. Parsons, in 1820, from the procurator of the Greek bishop: "The Turks have destroyed all remnants of the ancient church, and even the place where it stood is now unknown. At present there is in the town one thousand houses, for which taxes are paid to the government, besides two or three hundred small huts: there are about three hundred and fifty Greek houses, and twenty-five or thirty belonging to the Armenians;

the others are all Turkish. There are nine mosques, one Greek church, four or five Greek priests, and one Armenian. The Greeks know something of the Romaic, and the Armenians of the Armenian; but the common language of all classes is the Turkish: the Greeks write it in Greek letters, and the Armenians in Armenian letters."

"The appearance of Thyatira as we approached," says Mr. Arundel, "was that of a very long line of cypresses, poplars, and other trees, amidst which appeared the minarets of several mosques and the roofs of a few houses at the right. On the left a view of distant hills, the line of which continued over the town; and at the right adjoining the town was a low hill, with two ruined windmills." Thyatira is indebted for its preservation, and comparatively flourishing state, to its trade and situation. Its plain is still as much celebrated for its fertility, as it was when Antiochus mustered his host upon it, for the fatal encounter with Scipio; and travellers have remarked, that its dyes are still as famous as when Lydia sold its purple in Philippi. "It is its trade," says Ricaut, "the crystalline waters, cool and sweet to the taste, and light on the stomach, the wholesome air, the rich and delightful country, which cause this city so to flourish in our days, and to be more happy than her other desolate and comfortless sisters."

The luxuriant vegetation of Asia Minor has excited the admiration of most Europeans; and the myrtle and the olive, which bloom upon its hills and plains, relieve the eye of the traveller, and form a striking contrast with the mouldering fragments of

some of man's mightiest works, which are strewn around them. The white rose blossoms abundantly in the neighbourhood of Ak-hissar; the almond and the cypress wave in thick masses of verdure upon its plain; and the spectator of an oriental landscape is impressively reminded by the natural beauty around him, that though the "glory of man" is compared to the flower of the field, yet nature is constantly renovating her productions, whilst the proudest efforts of human skill and labour sink into forgetfulness. The volumes of eastern travel have been singularly useful, in illustrating the force and beauty of many passages of sacred writ. It is to the almond-tree that Solomon likens the silvery hair of age, and the white flowers which bloom upon its bare branches show the delicacy and justness of the similitude.

"The hope in dreams of a happier hour,
That alights on Misery's brow,
Springs out of the silvery almond flower,
That blows on a leafless bough."

Jeremiah saw a "rod of an almond tree," to intimate that the divine judgments were nigh at hand upon his people; and the early appearance of its blossoms, awaking up to life and beauty, while nature is locked in the embrace of winter, explains the reference of the symbol. The prophet Zechariah saw "a man riding upon a red horse, among the myrtle-trees;" and the large dimensions to which they arrive in the balmy climate of Asia, preserves the consistency of the vision.

But this delightful district is no longer the undis-

puted domain of the church ; and the Christian name which was once its glory, is now its shame and disgrace. The impressive tones of the muezzin, every where proclaim the ascendancy of the prophet ; and the dark and dirty churches of the Greeks, exhibit mournful evidence of the corruption and degeneracy of a purer faith. Ak-kissar is under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Ephesus, who is the *Αρχιεπὺς* ; but what is called the religion of Christ, is but a round of insignificant and disgusting ceremonials. The missionary has indeed passed through it with the word of life ; but ignorance has created insensibility, and custom has induced prejudice, and in not a few instances the priest has coolly turned aside from the gift he has offered to dispense. A false religion lords it over the territory which Christianity wrenched from the grasp of paganism ; and the miserable relic of the faith which now remains, exists in the scene of its splendid conquest, in a state of contempt and sufferance as great as when subject to the oppression of heathen Rome.

CHAPTER IX.

SARDIS.

— Duodecim celebres Asiæ urbes conlapsæ nocturno motu terræ
 — asperima in Sardianos lues plurimum in eosdem misericordiæ traxit : nam centies sesterciûm pollicitus Cæsar. —

Taciti Annal. lib. ii. c. 47.

Lydian Empire. — *Sardis.* — *Cræsus.* — *Barrow of Alyattes.* — *Earthquake.* — CHURCH IN SARDIS. *Its declension.* — MELITO. *Mentioned as a Prophet.* — *Travelled in Palestine.* — *Catalogue sent to Onesimus.* — *Apology to Marcus Antoninus.* — *Book on Easter.* — *List of his Works.* — *Death.* — *Julian.* — *Goths.* — *Florentius.* — SART. *Van Egmont.* — *Chandler.* — *Kar 'Osman Oglou.* — *Ruins of Churches.* — *Temple of Cybele.* — *Palace of Cræsus.*

A SMALL but delightful district, at the back of the Ionic settlements, verging towards the interior of Asia Minor, now boasting only a few miserable villages, constituted the ancient kingdom of Lydia, celebrated in history and poetry for its power and civilization, and for the opulence of Sardis its capital. The Lydian empire at its most prosperous era, extended from the river Halys on the east to the Ægean on the west, and from the northern shores of the Mediterranean to the southern coast of the Euxine ; but, in the early periods of its history, it was confined to the slender territory stretching round the roots of mount Tmolus. This province, though small in extent, furnished its inhabitants with a source of wealth and

consequence, in the golden particles brought down by the waters of the Pactolus, and in the valuable mines which were discovered in its neighbourhood. Its history is marked by a succession of earthquakes, whose violence may still be seen in the uneven surface of the country, and the jagged and grotesque summits of Tmolus; and the military transactions of which it has been the scene, have contributed to further its ruin and desolation. Conquered by Cyrus, Xerxes, and Alexander, submitting to Roman dominion, and now groaning under Turkish tyranny, the eye of the traveller beholds in the ruins scattered beside his path the signs of its numerous vicissitudes.

“Lydia was celebrated for its city Sardis, which was of great antiquity, though posterior to the war of Troy.³¹³ It was enriched by the fertility of the soil, and had been the capital of the Lydian kings. It was seated on the side of mount Tmolus, and the acropolis was remarkable for its strength. This was on a lofty hill; the back part, or that towards Tmolus, a perpendicular precipice. One of the kings, an ancestor of Cræsus, it is related, believed, that by leading a lion³¹⁴ about the wall he should render the fortress impregnable, and neglected that portion of it as totally inaccessible.”

“Cræsus, who was tyrant or king of all the nations within the river Halys, engaging Cyrus, who had followed him into Lydia, was defeated in the plain before the city, the Lydian horses not enduring the sight or smell of the camels. Cyrus then besieged

³¹³ Strabo. p. 625. Herodotus. lib. i.

³¹⁴ Or his son Leon, as some translate the ancient account.

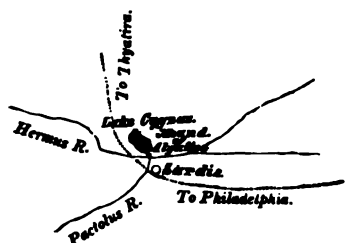
him, and offered a reward for the person who should first mount the wall. One of his soldiers had seen a Lydian descend for his helmet, which had rolled down the back of the acropolis. He tried to ascend there, where not even a sentinel was placed, and succeeded. Afterwards the Persian satrapas, or commandant, resided at Sardis, as the emperor did at Susa."

"In the time of Darius the Milesians sailed to Ephesus, and leaving their vessels at mount Corissus, marched up by the river Cayster, and crossing mount Tmolus, surprised the city, except the acropolis, in which was a numerous garrison. A soldier set fire to one of the houses, which were thatched,³¹⁵ and presently the town was in flames. The Ionians retreated to Tmolus, and in the night to their ships."³¹⁶

"The city and acropolis surrendered on the approach of Alexander, after the battle of the Granicus. He encamped by the river Hermus, which was twenty stadia, or two miles and a half distant. He went up to the acropolis, which was then fortified with a triple wall, and resolved to erect in it a temple and altar to Jupiter Olympius, on the site of the royal palace of the Lydians."

³¹⁵ Herodotus, who gives us an account of this, lib. v. c. 100, 101, 102, observes, that the houses in Sardis were in general constructed of reeds, and such few as were of brick had reed coverings—a proof that but little progress had been made in architecture.

³¹⁶ When Darius heard of the burning of Sardis, he shot an arrow in the air, and protested vengeance. Does not this illustrate 2 Kings, xiii. 15, 16, 17? "And Elisha said unto him, Take bow and arrows; and he took unto him bow and arrows: and he said, Open the window eastward, and he opened it. Then Elisha said, Shoot, and he shot. And he said, The arrow of the Lord's deliver-



The wealth of the ancient Lydian monarchs is alike the subject of history and song; and the site of their capital has preserved traces of their enterprise and splendour. "Famed Gyges' treasures" were proverbial in the time of Anacreon, though afterwards surpassed by the riches of Cræsus.³¹⁷ The stupendous monument which this prince erected to the memory of his father, Alyattes, is described by Herodotus; and after the lapse of twenty-four centuries, it still remains to justify the admiration he expresses. It stands on the plain of the Hermus, near the Gygæan lake, surrounded by various other mounds of different

ance, and the arrow of deliverance from Syria: for thou shalt smite the Syrians in Aphek, till thou have consumed them." In both cases the shooting the arrow was a signal of hostility.

³¹⁷ Anac. od. xv. Pindar. Pyth. od. i.

LYDIAN CHRONOLOGY.

	B. C.
Gyges,	718
Ardyes	680
Sadyattes	631
Alyattes	619
Cræsus	562
Alexander	334
Antiochus	214
Romans	190

dimensions, which mark the last resting-place of the Lydian kings. The circumference of the tumulus, according to the historian, was six *stadia*, or three quarters of a mile; the height, two *plethra*, or two hundred feet; and the width thirteen *plethra*. (περίοδος στάδια ἕξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα· τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἐστὶ πλέθρα τριακαίδεκα).³¹⁸ This colossal barrow was erected at the expense of Cræsus, by three classes of the Lydian people; and from an inscription upon its summit, which Herodotus mentions as engraved upon five termini,³¹⁹ it appeared that the greater portion of the work had been executed by the Sardian females.

CHRISTIAN SARDIS.

At the Christian era Sardis was under the government of the Romans; and at the time when it was the subject of inspired notice, it was about recovering from the ruin and devastation occasioned by an earthquake. Twelve of the principal cities of Asia were involved in destruction; and Sardis was levelled with

³¹⁸ Herod. lib. i. c. 39.

³¹⁹ "It was customary among the Greeks," says Chandler, "to place on barrows either the image of some animal, or *stelæ*, commonly round pillars with inscriptions. The famous barrow of the Athenians in the plain of Marathon, described by Pausanias, is an instance of the latter usage. An ancient monument in Italy by the Appian way, has the same number of termini as remained on the barrow of Alyattes; the basement, which is square, supporting five round pyramids. The barrow of Alyattes is much taller and handsomer than any I have seen in England or elsewhere."—l. p. 327.

the dust. "The calamity," says Tacitus, "happened in the night, and was for that reason the more disastrous: no warning given, and, by consequence, no time to escape. Hills are said to have sunk, and valleys rose to mountains. Quick flashes of lightning showed all the horrors of the scene."³²⁰ The emperor Tiberius, in whose reign it occurred, made liberal grants to the injured cities; and Sardis was indebted for its restoration to his munificence. Its inhabitants were exempted from all taxes for five years; and received a supply of one hundred thousand great sesterces. The following fragment of an inscription, found by Smith upon the chapiter of a pillar, is evidently in honour of Tiberius, and probably recorded his bounty upon this occasion:

ΦΙΛΗ ΤΙΜΩΛΙΣ ΕΤΕΙΜΗ
ΣΕΝ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΤΙΒΕ
ΟΝ ΚΑΙΣ

With the circumstances which led to the introduction of Christianity into Sardis we are not acquainted; the planters of the faith and the era of its first publication are unknown; and no notice of its Christian history prior to the date of the apocalypse has been preserved. Communicating with the gulf of Smyrna by the river Hermus, and situated on the great caravan road between that city and Persia, it probably received the gospel at the time, or immediately after Paul's lengthened sojourn in Asia. When addressed by John, a church had not only been formed, but the Sardians had fallen from their first estate

³²⁰ Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. c. 47.

of active piety into a decided spiritual supineness, and some considerable time may be allowed for the production of this declension.

The state of the church of Sardis, as traced by the finger of inspiration, presents to us a painful spectacle of religious decline. Unlike the Thyatirans, its "last" works were worse than the "first;" the gospel was indeed professed, but its vital influence was almost extinguished; and the majority of its members had lapsed into a state of carnal indifference and security. The Sardians are described by the divine Inspector, as having a "name" to live, but being actually "dead;" their works had not been "found perfect before God;" their love had cooled; their faith was expiring; and the anger of their Lord had been justly kindled against them. The history of most subsequent churches presents us with similar scenes—a gradual decay of piety—a fall from the high eminences of Christian attainment into the depths of formality and supineness. But notwithstanding the degeneracy which is charged upon the church of Sardis, there were a few who had not "defiled their garments;" who had kept aloof from that sinful intercourse with the world which had infected their brethren; and to whom a future glorious and endearing union with the Author of their faith is promised.³²¹ The lapsed are called to wakefulness and vigilance; reminded of the privileges with which they had been favoured; and the threat is held forth, to enforce the exhortation, of

³²¹ "Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy."—*Rev.* iii. 4.

that swift destruction which has now swept their church and city from the earth.³²² The communication of this message was in the highest degree seasonable; but of the immediate effect that was produced we are ignorant, as a considerable period elapses before Sardis is again presented to our notice.

In the second century we discover the Sardians under the government of Melito, a pious, learned, and eloquent bishop. The testimony of antiquity is in the highest degree honourable to this individual; and it is probable that under his care the drooping interests of the church revived. As an early apologist, a voluminous writer, and an exemplary Christian, he was one of the pillars of the Asian A. D. churches, in an age when the fiery torrent 177. of persecution beat against them; and it is to be regretted that his numerous works are lost, and that no more considerable memorials of his personal history have survived.

MELITO.

Of the life of this excellent bishop we know little; and but a few extracts of his works have escaped the ravages of time and the barbarism of the early ages. He is mentioned by some of the ancients as a prophet; but as Eusebius has not hinted at any of his predictions, it is likely the term was used merely in the sense

³²² "If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee." — *Rev. iii. 3.*

of an inspired teacher. Polycrates of Ephesus in his letter,³²³ speaks of him as under the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit — τὸν ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσάμενον — but nothing further may be meant by this, than what is the ordinary privilege of all believers. In exactly the same manner he speaks in the same letter of a daughter of Philip — ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι πολιτευσαμένη. It is evident that Melito was eminent for his piety and devotion to the truth; and he was, therefore, favoured, in an enlarged degree, with the presence of the “spirit of wisdom and of understanding, of counsel and of might.”³²⁴

The Sardinian bishop travelled in various parts of the east, and principally in Palestine, on purpose to obtain information respecting the Old Testament canon. During his journey, he ascertained the number of the books, arranged a catalogue of them, the *first* ever made by a Christian, and sent a list afterwards to a correspondent of the name of Onesimus.³²⁵ A copy of this list has been preserved by Eusebius, and on comparing it with the Hebrew bible the book of Esther will be found to be omitted, perhaps on account of its being then annexed to Ezra and Nehemiah. A fragment of the letter which accompanied

³²³ See page 167.

³²⁴ Melito, according to Polycrates, was an eunuch, doubtless in the Saviour's acceptation of the term, as signifying one who takes up his cross, and denies himself the sinful indulgences of the world: “There are some who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake.” *Matt.* xix. 12. — Origen, in an after age, forget for once to allegorize, and interpreted this literally.

³²⁵ It is not known who this Onesimus was. The Ephesian bishop of that name lived in the year 107.

the catalogue, which has also been preserved, the reader may be curious to see :

“Melito to Onesimus, the brother sendeth greeting: Whereas because of your love to, and diligence bestowed about the word of God, you have often requested me to make you some short collections and extracts, both out of the law and the prophets, respecting those things relating to the Saviour and all the articles of the faith; and moreover knowing you to be desirous to have an accurate account of the books of the Old Testament, how many there are in number, and in what order they were written, I have made it my business to do all this, in order to satisfy your desires. For I know well with what ardent faith you are inflamed, and how earnest are your desires after knowledge, and that on account of your love to God, you greatly prefer these before other things, striving earnestly to obtain eternal salvation. When, therefore, I travelled in the east, and came into that country where these things were preached and done, I made strict inquiry about the books of the Old Testament, a catalogue of which I have herewith sent you.—Out of these I have made some short collections, which I have divided into six books.”

Another important service which Melito rendered the Christian cause, was his apology addressed to Marcus Antoninus, in behalf of the persecuted faith. The polite terms with which he clothed the sentiments he expressed, led Jortin to imagine,³²⁶ that he either

³²⁶ Jortin. Rem. Eccles. Hist. i. 294. Basnage has supposed the same of Athenagoras, but certainly upon very slight foundation. — *Annal.* ii. 161.

Eusebius and Jerome inform us that Aristides and Quadratus addressed and delivered their apologies to Adrian — τούτῳ Κοδράτος λόγον προσφώνησας ἀναδίδωσιν, ἀπολογίαὺν συντάξας — καὶ Ἀριστείδης

designed to present it himself, or fully expected it to be perused by the emperor. We have a few remains of this production, which are deserving of notice :

“ Pious persons, aggrieved by new edicts published throughout Asia, and never before practised, now suffer persecution. For audacious sycophants, and men who covet other persons’ goods, take advantage of these proclamations openly to rob and spoil the innocent by night and by day. If this be done through your order, let it stand good, for a just emperor cannot act unjustly ; and will cheerfully submit to the honour of such a death. This only we humbly crave of you, that after an impartial examination of us and our accusers, you would justly decide whether we deserve death and punishment, or life and protection. But if these proceedings be not yours, and the new edicts be not the effects of your personal judgment, edicts which ought not to be enacted even against barbarian enemies, in that case we entreat you not to despise us, who are thus unjustly oppressed.”

He then goes on in a few more passages, to remind the emperor of the conduct of his predecessors, Adrian and Antoninus, who suppressed the tumults which had been excited against the Christians, and forbade their persecution. The sentiments thus boldly and elegantly expressed by Melito, ought to have led Marcus to imitate their conduct ; but the stoical philosophy of which he boasted, at once closed his heart to the calls of humanity and justice.

— ἀπολογία ἐπιφωνήσας Ἀδριανῷ, καταλέλοιπε. — *Euseb.* lib. iv. 3.

“ Quadratus — nonne Adrian Eleusinæ sacra invisenti librum pro nostra religione tradidit, et tantæ admirationi omnibus fuit, ut persecutionem gravissimam illius excellens sedaret ingenium ?”

— *Hieron. Ep.* 84.

We have another short extract preserved from the numerous works of Melito; and that is cited by Eusebius from the commencement of his two books on Easter: "Servilius Paulus being proconsul of Asia, when Sagaris suffered martyrdom, there arose a controversy at Laodicea concerning Easter, at which time I wrote these books."³²⁷ In this dispute the Sardian bishop appears to have been actively engaged; supporting Polycarp and the easterns by his example and writings, in checking the domineering spirit of a party in the western churches.

Melito was a voluminous writer, but his works have all been lost, with the exception of a few fragments preserved by Eusebius. We have the titles of some of his treatises, which it may be curious to quote, as illustrative not only of the literary character of Melito, but of the subjects to which the attention of the Christians of the second century was particularly directed: *Two Books concerning Easter.* — *Rules of Life and of the Prophets.*³²⁸ — *Of the Church.* — *Of the Lord's Day.* — *On the Nature of Man.* — *Of the Formation of Man.* — *Of the Senses, and their Subjection to the Faith.* — *Of the Soul, Body, and Mind.* — *Of Baptism.* — *Of the Origin and Generation of Christ.* — *Of Truth.* — *Of Prophecy.* — *Of Hospitality.* — *Of the Devil.* — *The Key.* — *Of the Revelation of John.* — *Of the Incorporation of God, περι ενσωματου Θεου, the Incarnate God* — and *An Apology to Antoninus.*

Inconsiderable as many of these works may have

³²⁷ Euseb. lib. iv. c. 26.

³²⁸ Jerome calls this *De vitâ Prophetarum*, Of the Life of the Prophets. — *Catalog. de Eccles. Scriptor.*

been, when compared with the size of the printed volumes of modern times, their number evinces the industry of the writer; and the enumeration of their titles must excite a feeling of regret at their irretrievable loss. Fabricius notices between thirty and forty writers of this century, whose works are either entirely lost or known only by fragments; and the third century has nineteen celebrated names whose productions are no longer extant. Many of these perished during the darkness of the middle ages and the irruption of the northern barbarians, but the early persecutions of the church were fatal to a great extent to the preservation of its literature. The edicts issued by the emperors against the Christians, directed the suppression of their books and writings, as obnoxious to the heathen priesthood. The curators or civil magistrates, had frequently recourse to the torture, to compel the persecuted to deliver them up; and in their eagerness to extirpate the hated sect, the pagan zealots did not stay to discriminate between the sacred and the profane.³²⁹ An old chronicler thus describes the persecution under Diocletian:

³²⁹ This gave rise to the celebrated letter of Julian, respecting the library of George of Alexandria, which he ordered to be destroyed:

“ To Ecdicius, Prefect of Egypt.

“ Some delight in horses, some in birds, and others in wild beasts. I from my childhood have always been influenced by a passionate love for books. I think it absurd to suffer these to fall into the hands of wretches, whose avarice gold alone cannot satiate, as they are also clandestinely endeavouring to pilfer these. You will therefore oblige me extremely, by collecting all the books of George. He had many I know on philosophical and rhetorical subjects, and many on the doctrine of the impious Galileans. All these I would have destroyed; but, lest others more valuable should be destroyed with them, let them all be carefully examined.

"Christenemen that he fonde, to strong deth he brogte;
 Chirches he fel al a doun —
 And al the bokes, that he mygte fynde in eny londe,
 He wolde let hem berne echon amid the heyte strete."³³⁰

The notice of the death of Melito, contained in the letter of Polycrates, seems to intimate that he escaped the torments of martyrdom to which so many at that era were subject: "*Melito, who lies at Sardis, expecting the Lord's coming, when he shall be raised from the dead.*" He lived when the sceptre of Rome was swayed by Marcus, who, in the language of Gibbon, "despised the Christians as a philosopher, and punished them as a sovereign." His apology presented to this prince was unsuccessful, for the whole course of his brilliant administration was marked by a deliberate and systematic attempt to extinguish the obnoxious faith. It may, however, be presumed, that the church of Sardis profited by the labours of its bishop; and that the interests of religion, which were in such a melancholy state of depression in the apostolic age, revived under his paternal care.

During the reign of Julian an attempt was made by the old idolatry to recover its former ascendancy in Sardis; and Chrysanthius, a native of the city, of a senatorial family, was created by the emperor pontiff of Lydia.³³¹ The heathen worship was practi-

The secretary of George may assist you in this disquisition, and if he acts with fidelity, he shall be rewarded with freedom; if not, he may be put to the torture. I am not unacquainted with this library; for when I was in Cappadocia George lent me several books to be transcribed, which I afterwards returned to him."—*Epist. of Julian. ep. ix.*

³³⁰ Robert of Gloucester. Chronicle. T. Hearne, Oxford.

³³¹ Eusebius, p. 154.

cally restored; the altars which had been destroyed were rebuilt; the temples were raised from their ruins; and the city of Cræsus once more resounded with the hymns of Cybele and Apollo. But the death of Julian put an end to these efforts; the heathen priesthood was finally suppressed; and the institutions of Christianity permanently established.

In the reign of Arcadius, Sardis was taken
 A. D. by the Goths under Tribigild and Caianus,
 400. two officers in the pay of Rome, and the
 city was given up to rapine and pillage.

It was frequently a scene of outrage, owing to the contests of the Quartodecimans; and its streets were stained with Christian blood by the persecuting fury of Nestorius.³³² Florentus, a bishop of Sardis, is mentioned in the acts of the council of Chalcedon, as wishing to check the precipitancy of the assembled fathers; but the shouts of the conclave seem to intimate, that their decisions were not the result of calm deliberation:—"Pope Leo believes as Cyril did! Eternal be the memory of Cyril!"—ὁ παπας Λεων οὕτως πιστευι. Κυριλλος οὕτως ετιστευσεν.³³³ In the wars of the Greek emperors with the Paulicians Sardis suffered greatly; the subsequent calamities of Asia fell heavily upon it; and during the inroads of the Tartars and the Turks, in 1304, the predicted punishment of its apostasy came upon it as a "thief in the night."

³³² "Give me, O emperor," said this intolerant and unfortunate prelate to Theodosius, "the earth cleared from heretics, and as your recompense I will give you heaven. Assist me in destroying heretics, and I will assist you in vanquishing the Persians."—*Socrat. Schol.* lib. vii. c. 29.

³³³ Labb. Tom. iv. p. 341.

SART.

The site of the once proud capital of Lydia, the Christian Sardis of the apocalypse, was in the time of Chandler "green and flowery;" and the residence of a long line of wealthy monarchs, is now the habitation of oxen and buffaloes, with the exception of a few mud huts which shelter some Turkish herdsmen. "*How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people! Her foundations are fallen, her walls are thrown down. She sits silent in darkness, and is no longer called the lady of kingdoms.*" "We passed," says Chandler, "the miserable village of Sart, which stands with a ruinous mosque on the root or spur of the hill of the citadel, and crossing the Pactolus, pitched our tent in a flowery meadow. Not far from us were booths of the Turcomans with their cattle feeding." "Its inhabitants," says Van Egmont, "who are all herdsmen, are living in wretched cottages of clay, which do not exceed the height of a man. At present Sardis has not a single Christian among its inhabitants, but is not without a Turkish mosque, the portico of which is adorned with grand antique pillars; indeed it appears not to be a Turkish work, but a structure of the Greeks." "Identified with the names of Cræsus, and Cyrus, and Alexander, and covering the plain with her thousands of inhabitants, and tens of thousands of men of war; great even in the days of Augustus; ruined by earthquakes, and restored to its

importance by the munificence of Tiberius ; Christian Sardis offering her hymns of thanksgiving for deliverance from pagan persecution in the magnificent temples of the virgin and apostle ; Sardis again fallen under the yoke of a false religion, but still retaining her numerous population and powerful defence only five hundred years ago :—what is Sardis now ?” “ Every thing,” says one, “ seems as if God had cursed the place, and left it to the dominion of Satan.” Lydians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Goths, have all been swept away ; and the beautiful verses of Hafiz have here been realized :

“ The spider has wove his web in the imperial palace,
And the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab.”

The final banishment of Christianity from Sardis, or, according to its modern appellation, Sart, was effected by the tyranny of a Turkish chieftain, Kar 'Osman Oglou. About twenty years ago a few Christians resided in the place and in the plain in its immediate vicinity, who wished to erect a church, to enable them to worship in a spot hallowed by the early triumphs of the faith. The Turkish governor of the district prohibited the design ; and the persecuted remnant were obliged to forsake their ancient home, and retire beyond the jurisdiction of Oglou.³³⁴ About

³³⁴ This is the individual to whom Lord Byron refers :

“ Another and a braver man
Was never seen in battle's van,
We Moslems reck not much of blood
But yet the line of Karasman

three miles from their beloved Sardis, and within view of its ruins, they fixed their residence, and celebrated in peace the services of their religion. This spot is now the little village of Tatar-keuy; and a congregation of a hundred souls, may attest the preservation of a "few names" still in Sardis. Mr. Lindsay, chaplain to the British embassy at Constantinople in the year 1816, gave a copy of the New Testament to their priest; and several of the Greeks immediately crowded around him to hear it read upon the spot.³³⁵

Among the ruins of Sardis, the remains of two Christian churches, said to have been dedicated to the Panagia and John, are objects of interest. Both these structures seem to have been composed of the fragments of former buildings, and evidence in their decay the overthrow of the faith they were once employed to propagate. Various other remains in this forlorn and desolate spot go back to a period far anterior to the establishment of Christianity, and still attest in their prostration and decline the ancient strength and grandeur of the city.

A short distance from the village of Sart, on the banks of the Pactolus, two lofty columns rear their heads, and silently proclaim the magnificent architect-

Unchanged, unchangeable hath stood
First of the bold Timariot bands
That won and well can keep their lands.
— Enough that he who comes to woo
Is kinsman to the Bey Oglou!"

Bride of Abydos, Canto I, Stanza vii.

³³⁵ Rev. David Lindsay. Letter to the British and Foreign Bible Society.

tural designs of antiquity. In Chandler's time there were five of these columns standing; but the Turks have mutilated the ruin, in the expectation of finding gold or concealed treasure. Colonel Leake is disposed to regard this as a fragment of the time of the Lydian kings. A temple of Cybele in Sardis is mentioned by Herodotus;³³⁶ the goddess is also invoked by Sophocles as dwelling on the banks of the great Pactolus abounding in gold;³³⁷ and the two lonely pillars on the plain are probably the remains of her habitation.

The walls of two large and lofty rooms, which are still standing, are supposed to be the remains of the palace of Cræsus. The first room was semicircular at both ends, and, according to Mr. Arundel's measurement, it was one hundred and fifty-six feet long by forty-two and a half wide; and the walls, celebrated for the durability of their brick,³³⁸ were ten feet and a half thick.

The vicissitudes to which Sardis has been subject, the remembrance of its ancient magnificence, the story of its decline, and the mournful prospect of its present desolation, powerfully illustrate and enforce the impressive lesson of religion, "the things that are seen are temporal." In the lapse of twenty centuries the Persian chivalry, the Macedonian phalanx, the Roman legion, and the barbarous Goth, have been witnessed within its walls; while its inhabitants have alternate-

³³⁶ Herod. lib. vi. c. 102.

³³⁷ *Μᾶτερ αὐτοῦ Διὸς*

Ἀ τὸν μέγαν Πακτωλὸν εὐχρυσον νέμεις.

ΦΙΛΟΚΤΗΤΗΣ. v. 395.

³³⁸ Vitruvius. lib. ii. c. 8. Pliny. lib. xxxv. c. 14.

ly listened to the counsels of Solon, the hymns of the half-frantic priestess, the lessons of apostles, and the doctrine of the false prophet. But princes, warriors, temples, and churches now have passed away, and the owl and the jackal occupy the gorgeous palace of Cræsus; while the black tent of the Turcoman is alone seen upon the plain through which Xerxes poured his millions to fall beneath the Grecian sword. Two heathens, Herodotus and Sulpicius, have illustrated by the rise and fall of cities, the precarious nature of human felicity;³³⁹ and history nowhere conveys to us this important truth more strikingly than in its annals of Sardis. The riches which were the boast and wonder of antiquity, have disappeared; the citadel which resisted the forces of Antiochus, and only yielded to stratagem, has been smitten to the dust; the structures which once echoed with the pæans of paganism and the hosannas of a victorious faith, have scarcely any remains to be recognised; the tens of thousands who thronged the streets of the city, are buried beneath the ruins of their own erections; and the only relics of the ancient days which have escaped destruction, are the monuments of death, the colossal barrows of the Lydian kings. But this picture of desolation not only presents us with an affecting instance of the transitory nature of human greatness, but illustrates the "*sure word*" of sacred prophecy. The doom of Sardis had been long recorded upon the page of scripture; and though the execution of the threat was delayed for a season, yet it came at last in all its terrible meaning

³³⁹ Herod. lib. i. 5. Sulpicius in a beautiful letter to Cicero on the death of Tullia, the orator's daughter.

with the grinding despotism of the Turk. Apostacy from the faith brought with it the curse of God and the oppression of man, and the seat of this church of the apocalypse may now be said to exist no more.

NOTES.

The Turcomans who now infest the various districts of Asia Minor, are thus described by a late traveller :

"About noon we passed close by an encampment of Turcomans, by whom this district, and, indeed, almost all the secluded or inland portions of Asia Minor, are annoyingly infested. Without houses or permanent homes, and possessing all the wandering habits of the Arab, they seem to have inherited all his predatory and savage propensities, without any combination of his hospitality and distinguished virtues. The figure of the Turcoman retains all the dull and ungraceful traits of his Tartar origin ; and his habits of sloth and cruelty, render him at once an object of disgust and apprehension to his peaceable and industrious neighbours. His sole ostensible occupation is the breeding of horses for the service of the adjoining Pachalics ; whilst, by a singular reversion of taste, his own beasts of burden are his cows and oxen, and his chief diet the flesh of his superannuated horses. Though by no means to be identified with them, the habits of the Turcomans of the present day, are precisely those of the wandering hordes of Kedar, as described in the books of the Old Testament ; and their *black* tents would fully suit the simile of Solomon, 'I am *black* but comely, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon : ' (*Sol. Song*, i. 5.); whilst their pastoral traffic is in every respect, that adverted to by Ezekiel in his denunciations of destruction against Tyre : 'Arabia, all the princes of Kedar, they occupied with thee in lambs, and rams, and goats ; in these were they thy merchants : ' (*Ezek.* xxvii. 21.)" — *Emerson's Letters*.

See Harmer's Observations, c. ii. obs. 36.

CHAPTER X.

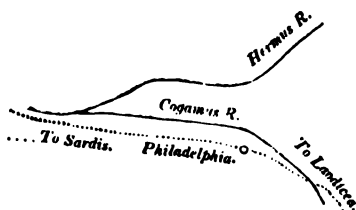
PHILADELPHIA.

Δεδοξασμένα ελαλήθη περὶ σοῦ ἡ πόλις τοῦ Θεοῦ.

†AAMOI 86. v. 3. LXX.

Catakekaumene District.—*Epistle to the Church of Philadelphia.*—*Epistle of Ignatius.*—*Eleven Philadelphians suffered with Polycarp.*—*Milliades.*—*Ammias a Prophet.*—*Theodosius a Bishop deposed.*—*Wars of the Turks.*—*Resists Bajazet.*—*Testimony of Gibbon.*—ALLAH-SHEHR. *The City of God.*—*Asian Meadow.*—*Chandler's Visit.*—*Messrs. Fisk and Parsons.*—*Idolatry of the Virgin.*—*Messrs. Arundel and Hartley.*—*Panaretos.*—*Notion of the Perpetual Virginity.*—*Argument of Basil.*—*Second interview with the Bishop Panaretos.*—*Fulfilment of Prophecy.*

PHILADELPHIA, now called Allah-Shehr, the “city of God,” situated on a declivity of mount Tmolus, on the banks of the river Cogamus, was founded by Attalus Philadelphus, the brother of Eumenes, of Pergamos, from whom it received its name. It was seated on the high road between Sardis and Laodicea, about twenty-seven miles east of the former city.



The vicinity of Philadelphia to the Catakekaumene district rendered it an unfavourable place of residence, owing to the frequent earthquakes with which it was visited. Its walls are said to have been shaken almost daily; and its inhabitants living in a state of constant apprehension, were consequently few in number. The volcanic region called Catakekaumene or the "burned," extended, according to Strabo, upwards of five hundred stadia, or about sixty-two miles in length; and four hundred stadia, or about fifty miles in breadth. It commenced a short distance to the east of Philadelphia, and gave rise to its numerous earthquakes, to the hot waters of Hierapolis, the nitrous lakes of Anava, and the name of Laodicea Combusta. The whole of this district was anciently covered with vines, and was selected by the poets as the spot where the monster Typho was overthrown by the lightning of Jupiter. The face of the country retains marks of the action of subterranean fires, though these terrible agencies of nature appear now to be extinct.³⁴⁰

In this singularly unfortunate territory religion found its firmest stronghold, and here it reigned in its primitive purity and lustre when most of the other communities of Asia had departed from the faith. The situation of Philadelphia, at a distance from the sea, and having little intercourse with the great trading cities, might possibly favour its preservation from the baleful influence of heresy. We know not at what time the faith was planted in the city; but at the era of the apocalypse it possessed, if not the most extensive, the purest of the seven churches ad-

³⁴⁰ Strabo. p. 579. 628.

dressed. The message conveyed to it is laudatory and encouraging ; though visited by persecution, yet no denial of the truth had occurred ; and in the times of fiery trial, which were seen to be approaching, a promise of support and protection is given, as a reward of its integrity : "I ALSO WILL KEEP THEE FROM THE HOUR OF TEMPTATION, WHICH SHALL COME UPON ALL THE WORLD." This remarkable statement has been verified in the course of its history ; for Philadelphia survived to a modern era the repeated shocks of earthquakes, and the fiery assaults of heathen enmity ; and it was formidable enough to arrest the march of Ottoman invasion.

Philadelphia appears again upon the page of Christian history, about ten years after the date of the apocalyptic message ; for a letter was sent to the church by Ignatius, in acknowledgment of a visit which their bishop paid him at Troas. After leaving Smyrna, the guards of the condemned bishop allowed him to rest at Troas, and here he received messengers from various churches who had heard of his arrival. In the epistle Ignatius highly commended the Philadelphians, and expressed his esteem for their pastor, as one who had "obtained the ministry not by any selfish or worldly means, but for the common good of saints." He warns them of those "evil herbs, which are not of the planting of the Father ;" and particularly of the opinions of the Judaizers. "If any one," says he, "shall preach the Jewish law unto you,³⁴¹ hearken not unto him ; for it is better

³⁴¹ Rev. iii. 9. In the time of John, the Philadelphians were troubled with "them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie."

to receive the doctrine of Christ from one who has been circumcised, than Judaism from one who has not. But if either the one or the other do not speak concerning Christ Jesus, they seem to me to be but as monuments and sepulchres of the dead, upon which are written only the names of men. Flee, therefore, the wicked arts and snares of the prince of this world, lest at any time being oppressed by his cunning ye grow cold in your love." The epistle introduces us to Philo, a deacon from Cilicia, and Agathopes, who had followed the writer from Syria, to assist him on his journey.³⁴² A passage in the letter seems to intimate, that Ignatius had once visited the Philadelphians; he speaks of having been among them; and of some suspecting, that during his stay he had been informed of some dissensions existing, which he contradicts: "But he is my witness, for whose sake I am in bonds, that I knew nothing from any man. — But the spirit spake, saying" — *μάρτυς δὲ μοι ἐν ᾧ δέδεμαι, ὅτι ἀπὸ βαρκῶς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἔγνων. τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσε λέγων τάδε.*³⁴³

The ecclesiastical annals of the subsequent times make but little mention of Philadelphia; yet still we have one notice which proves how faithfully the "word" of the Lord's "patience" was kept. When the persecution was raging in Smyrna, which consigned Polycarp to the flames, eleven Philadelphians, we are told, were the companions of his martyrdom.³⁴⁴ These had probably been brought from their native city, to suffer during the public games which were

³⁴² Ignat. ad Philadelph.

³⁴³ Epist. s. vii.

³⁴⁴ Smyrnæan Epistle.

celebrated in Smyrna, and which were attended by the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts. "Hold that fast which thou hast," said the Saviour to this church, "that no man take thy crown;"³⁴⁵ and in giving eleven of her members to the fires, we have an impressive instance of constancy and fidelity in death. An ancient writer, whose works are unhappily lost with the exception of a few passages, and whose name has not transpired, mentions a Philadelphian as a distinguished member of the early church, and claims for him the honours of prophetic inspiration. Writing against Montanus, who aspired to the prophetic character, he cites Miltiades,³⁴⁶ as asserting that a true prophet ought not to speak in an ecstasy, *ἐκστάσι λαλεῖν*; which he confirms by the examples of the Old and New Testament prophets. He challenges also the heretic to prove, that either the daughters of Philip or Ammias in Philadelphia, or Quadratus, were inspired in this tumultuous manner.³⁴⁷ While we regard the claims of these individuals to the prophetic spirit here attributed to them to be equivocal; yet we may gather from the report, that Ammias and his associates in the reputed honour, were highly esteemed by their brethren. The relation may serve to illustrate the distinction which was early drawn between divine inspiration and the pseudo prophetic spirit: the Sybils of heathenism and the prophetesses of Monta-

³⁴⁵ Rev. iii. 11.

³⁴⁶ This was a writer against the Montanists, who flourished about the year 180, and died in the reign of Commodus. All his works have perished, but Eusebius mentions him with respect, and Jerome styles him, "*Ecclesiæ Sophista*," the Orator of the church.

³⁴⁷ Euseb. lib. v. c. 17.

nus uttered their oracles with frantic gestures and distorted looks; while those upon whom the divine afflatus descended, were only “*moved* by the Holy Ghost.”³⁴⁸

Philadelphia continued to occupy an important station among the eastern churches until the decline of the Greek empire; her bishops were sent to the councils of Christendom; but the bright exhibition of her faith and practice commended in the apostolic age, had been long succeeded by the lamentable corruptions which adulterated the truth. Theodosius of Philadelphia with several others is upon record, as being deposed in the synod of Seleucia for his attachment to the Acacian or Arian party;³⁴⁹ but depositions in the fourth century were become the work of court intrigue and priestly jealousy. In the wars and calamities of the middle ages, the city experienced various vicissitudes, but the original promise seems to have been singularly fulfilled, in its being “kept” in the “hour of temptation” from the destruction with which it was so often threatened.

In the year 1097 Philadelphia along with Sardis was taken by assault, by the Greek general John

³⁴⁸ ——— Subito non vultus, non color unus,
Non comptæ mansere comæ: sed pectus anhelans,
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri
Nec mortale sonans: Affata est Numine quando
Jam proprio De.

Ænead. vi. 47.

Maimonides, *More Nevoch.* part. ii. c. 36. Lucan. lib. v. 142—218. Lycophron, *Cassandr.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* lib. i. p. 311. Tert. de *Aminâ.* c. xlv. p. 297. Chrysost. *Hom.* xxix in 1 Cor.

³⁴⁹ Socrat. *Schol.* lib. ii. c. 40.

Ducas. It was again reduced about the year 1106 under the Greek emperor without difficulty. Two years after the Turks marched from the east with a design to plunder it and the maritime cities. In 1175 the emperor Manuel, falling into an ambuscade of the Turks not far distant from the sources of the Meander, retired to this place. In the division of the conquests of Sultan Aladin in 1300, the inner parts of Phrygia, as far as Cilicia and Philadelphia, fell by lot to Karamân. The town in 1306 was besieged by Alisuras, who took the forts near, and distressed it, but retired on the approach of the Roman army. It is related that the Philadelphians despised the Turks, having a tradition that their city had never been taken. The Tripolines requested succour from the general, the grand duke Roger; who after defeating the enemy returned hither by the forts of Kula and Turmus, and exacted money. In 1391 Philadelphia singly refused to admit Bajazet, but wanting provisions was forced to capitulate. Cineis, on his reconciliation with Amir, prince of Ionia, drew over to his interest this place with Sardis, Nymphêum, and the country as far as the Hermus.³⁵⁰

Philadelphia appears for a time to have successfully stemmed the torrent of Turkish invasion; and to have preserved its existence, in spite of the myriads of Bajazet, when the other cities of the empire were given up to pillage and desolation. Its survival of this stormy period, when viewed in connexion with the express promise in the apocalypse, must be considered as an important and impressive fact. The "hour of

³⁵⁰ Chandler. i. p. 309.

temptation" emphatically came with the crescent and the sword of Mohammed, when the march of the victorious armies of his followers was strewed with the ashes of the Greek cities. Whatever other interpretation we may put upon the prediction, that event was evidently to "try them that dwell upon the earth;" and, according to the terms of the announcement, though after a long and arduous struggle, Philadelphia received the Ottoman yoke, yet it was "kept" from extinction when the whole Christian empire of the east was annihilated. To its singular preservation Gibbon is compelled to yield a striking and perhaps an unwilling testimony: "AT A DISTANCE FROM THE SEA, FORGOTTEN BY THE EMPEROR, ENCOMPASSED ON ALL SIDES BY THE TURKS, HER VALIANT CITIZENS DEFENDED THEIR RELIGION AND FREEDOM ABOVE FOUR-SCORE YEARS, AND AT LENGTH CAPITULATED WITH THE PROUDEST OF THE OTTOMANS. — AMONG THE GREEK COLONIES AND CHURCHES OF ASIA, PHILADELPHIA IS STILL ERECT — A COLUMN IN A SCENE OF RUINS."³⁵¹

ALLAH-SHEHR.

The "city of God," the "fair city," are the modern appellations of Philadelphia; and the highly cultivated gardens and vineyards, which adorn the declivities of Tmolus, render it indeed like the city of the psalmist, "beautiful for situation." Many remnants

³⁵¹ Gibbon. Decline and Fall. vol. xi. p. 438.

of the ancient walls, from which its brave citizens so often beat back the Moslems, are standing; the tops of which are now abandoned to the cranes, who build in great numbers upon them. The region in the neighbourhood of Tmolus was part of the Asian meadow of Homer, celebrated for the vast multitudes of geese and cranes and swans that flocked to it. You might see them, say the ancient poets, feeding in the grass, or hear them sitting on Tmolus in the spring, making the marsh echo with their noisy clamour.³⁵²

Philadelphia is described by Chandler as a considerable town of large extent, spreading up the slopes of three or four hills. The bishop was absent at the time of his visit, but the proto-papas or chief priest received the travellers at the episcopal palace, a title given to a very indifferent house, or rather cottage of clay. "We found him," says he, "ignorant of the Greek tongue, and were forced to discourse with him by an interpreter in the Turkish language. He had no idea that Philadelphia existed before Christianity, but told us it had become a city in consequence of the many religious foundations. The number of churches he reckoned at twenty-four, mostly in ruins, and mere masses of wall decorated with painted saints. Only six are in a better condition, and have their priests. The episcopal church is large, and ornamented with gilding, carving, and holy portraits. The Greeks are about three hundred families, and live in a friendly intercourse with the Turks, of whom they speak well. We were assured that the clergy and the laity in general knew as little of Greek as the proto-papas;

³⁵² Dionysius Περὶ γῆς v. 833.

and yet the liturgies and offices of the church are read as elsewhere, and have undergone no alteration on that account. The Philadelphians are a civil people. One of the Greeks sent us a small earthen vessel full of choice wine. Some families beneath the trees, by a rill of water, invited us to alight, and partake of their refreshments. They saluted us when we met; and the aga or governor, on hearing that we were Franks, bade us welcome by a messenger. Philadelphia possessing waters excellent in dyeing, and being situated on one of the most capital roads to Smyrna, is much frequented, especially by Armenian merchants. The khan in which we lodged was very filthy, and full of passengers. Mules arrived almost hourly, and were unladen in the area. A caravan goes regularly to Smyrna, and returns on stated days."³⁵³

In November 1820, Philadelphia was visited, together with Sardis, Thyatira, and Pergamos, by the Rev. Messrs. Parsons and Fisk, deputed by the American board of missions; and from their report we obtain some additional information. Their first visit was to Gabriel, then archbishop of this diocese. He had held his office six years, and appeared about seventy-five years of age. He was reputed a man of learning. Formerly he had had one bishop under him, but at that time he had none, and only about twenty priests. The diocese includes Sardis on the west, and Laodicea on the east; but he stated that it did not contain altogether above six or seven hundred Greek houses. There are five churches in this town, besides twenty which are either old or small, and now

³⁵³ Chandler. vol. i. p. 311.

not used. The whole number of houses is said to be three thousand, of which two hundred and fifty are Greek, the rest Turkish. The missionaries went next to visit a school, superintended by a young man, who had been educated in Haivali and Smyrna. He had about thirty scholars, who studied ancient and modern Greek. A small library is attached to the school. Most of the Greeks were found, agreeably to Chandler's statement, to understand no language but the Turkish. The missionaries dined with the archbishop. It was a fast-day; the *maigre* diet consisted of rice, soup, boiled beans, several plates of herbs, and a rich variety of fruits, with bread and cheese, and plenty of *raki*, rum, and wine. In the town the visitors counted six minarets; they saw the church in which, *they say*, the Christians assembled when St. John wrote: it is now a mosque. The school they represent as one of the few Greek schools in which something like order is maintained, and the children are taught to understand what they read.

Most of the religious edifices of the Greeks have schools connected with them; but the absurd plan of communicating instruction by means of the ancient language, renders the labour of the master useless, and exposes the scholar to an unnecessary drudgery. The principal church in Philadelphia is consecrated to the Virgin Mary.

It is remarkable how many of the ancient as well as modern churches of the Greeks, appear to have been consecrated to the Panagia. The idolatry of the Virgin was one of the earliest corruptions of Christianity; and to the present period, the Greek church

has retained this fatal error in its creed. The devotional formularies in common use among the easterns contain many examples of this impious veneration:³⁵⁴ "*Amidst all the sorrows of life, to whom can I flee for refuge, but to thee, O holy Virgin.*" — "*On thee I repose all my hope: mother of God, save me!*" — "*To earth are we reduced, having transgressed the divine command of God; but by thee, O holy Virgin! are we raised from earth to heaven, having thrown off the corruption of death;*" — and the Virgin in a favourite chaunt is extolled as ἐνδοξότερα τῶν Χερουβιμ, καὶ ἀσυνακρίτως τιμιωτέρα τῶν Σεραφεῖμ — "more glorious than the Cherubim, and beyond comparison, more honourable than the Seraphim."³⁵⁵

The present bishop of Philadelphia is described by Messrs. Arundel and Hartley, as an amiable and estimable man. During their journey in Asia Minor in 1826, they had an interview with him in Sarakioi, where he was spending a few days, engaged in inspecting his diocese.³⁵⁶ When visited by them, the bishop was at evening prayers with his attendants, and the travellers remarked with surprise and sorrow,

³⁵⁴ Hartley's Researches in the Levant, p. 48.

³⁵⁵ The Latin church had also a favourite chaunt in honour of the Virgin — the following jingling rhyme:

Tu spes certa miserorum
Vere mater orphanorum
Tu levamen oppressorum
Medicamen infirmorum
Omnibus es omnia.

³⁵⁶ The only church in Sarakioi was a miserable little room in a public khan. — *Hartley's Journal*, p. 272.

the repeated "Kyrie eleesons" which were introduced into the service, and the haste and indecorum with which it was conducted. "I have never yet met," says Mr. Hartley, "with a Greek ecclesiastic of more pleasing address than the bishop of Philadelphia. He is young, probably not more than thirty-five; and exhibits an energy and warmth of character, which, under favourable circumstances, would lead, I should imagine, to very happy results. I was sorry to find in him a degree of coldness on the subject of the Bible Society. He said that they had conversed on the subject at the synod at Constantinople; and I understood him, that they considered the circulation of the Romaic scriptures to be impracticable for the church as a body, but that it might be left to the exertions of individuals. He also hinted his fears, that harm might result to the people from an undirected use of the scriptures. He brought forward, as an instance, the passage of St. Matthew, i. 25: '*And knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born.*' Here, he remarked, the common reader might be led to suppose, that Mary did not remain a virgin after the birth of Christ, from the acceptation in which we at present take the word *ἕως* *till*. Past intercourse with Greeks had already taught me the inexpediency and inutility of contending hastily on this subject. To the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary they are bound by such adamantine prejudices, that a missionary will find it better to direct their attention to more important subjects, than hastily to shock their feelings on a point of minor importance. It was the parting advice which I received from a well-meaning

inhabitant of Ithaca, 'Attack not the perpetual virginity of the Panagia:' and, except when I have discerned a previous preparation of mind, I have not deemed it advisable to say much on the subject. With these feelings, I did not contravene the idea of Panaretos; but contented myself with showing, that whatever difficulties might be contained in the scriptures, those points which were essential to salvation were obvious and intelligible. He very gladly received a New Testament and other books."³⁵⁷

To the notion of the perpetual virginity the Greeks have ever been fondly wedded; and in the writings of many of the early fathers, it is advanced as one of the most momentous articles of the Christian faith. In one of the homilies of Basil, extolled by Gregory Nazianzen, as "every time he read it uniting his soul more intimately to his Creator," he boldly vindicates the doctrine upon the principles of natural philosophy. He asserts that there are several kinds of birds, which produce their young of themselves; by which he supposes God intended to furnish us with motives to credit things above the ordinary course of nature, such as the perpetual virginity of Mary after she had brought forth her first-born son. An illustration of this curious phenomenon he finds in the *vulture*; but in this instance we shall not be inclined to give Basil much credit for either true philosophy or sound divinity.³⁵⁸ It would require a formidable catalogue to mention all the treatises of the fathers, asserting and vindicating the same sentiment.

³⁵⁷ Researches in Greece and the Levant, p. 270.

³⁵⁸ Basil, Hexæmeron. Hom. 8.

With Panaretos Mr. Hartley had another interview upon his arrival at Philadelphia,³⁵⁹ where his party became the bishop's visitors. "This circumstance," he remarks, "gave me an opportunity of having much conversation with Panaretos. Many of his remarks afforded us satisfaction. The Bible he declared to be the only foundation of all religious belief; and I was astonished to hear him say, that he knew of no other confession of Christian faith than the creeds of the apostles, of Nice, and of St. Athanasius. With the design of referring to Christ, as the *only name given*

³⁵⁹ "We called," says Mr. Arundel, "at three o'clock upon the bishop, who received us with much kind attention. He had given us an invitation at our first meeting in Sarakioi, and the request of the aga was almost unnecessary. At five o'clock we accompanied him to his church. It was Palm-Sunday, and the service extremely long. I could not help shedding tears at contrasting this unmeaning mummery with the pure worship of primitive times, which probably had been offered on the site of the present church. A single pillar evidently belonged to a much earlier structure. He pointed out to me from his corridor a part of a high stone wall, having the remains of a brick arch upon the top, which he said was part of the church of the apocalypse, and dedicated to St. John. It would have been useless to have attempted to convince him, that such a structure would only have been erected after the empire became Christian, and that the early followers of a crucified Master had not where to lay their heads, much less magnificent temples to worship in. — Monday, April 24. We slept in the same apartment in which the bishop had entertained us; and at break of day were disturbed by several priests passing through it, previous to reading prayers in the bishop's apartment adjoining. Over the door of his own room was written in Greek, *Τνωθι σεαυτον*, "know thyself," and similar sentences above all the other apartments, as "obey the laws," "honour your parents," "reverence the elders." — p. 170.

among men by which we can be saved, I introduced a remark on the atoning efficacy which too many appear to attach to fasting. 'It is,' he replied, 'the universal idea.' After other observations, distinguished for candour, and expressive of the miserable follies into which our nature has plunged us, he used these decisive words : — 'Abuses have entered into the church, which former ages might endure ; but the present must put them down.' Other topics of conversation were, justification by faith, indulgences, the prophecies concerning popery, and the seventh general council. Conversing on the last-mentioned subject, I was surprised to find that he did not know that protestants worshipped God without the use of pictures. The Christian population he considered to be on the increase at Philadelphia : in the last year there had been ten deaths and twenty marriages. The Turks, he said, were decreasing : a large number had marched for Greece, and none had ever returned. In the evening we attended the metropolitan church ; but to give a true account of the sad degradation of Christian worship exhibited on this occasion, would be equally difficult and painful. We were highly pleased with the engaging manner of Panaretos. His house also, which is termed, as usual by the Greeks, the Metropolis, exhibited a decorum suited to a Christian bishop ; nor did I witness that fawning, and perpetual kissing of the hand, which I have deplored in some other episcopal residences. From the verandah we had a view of the whole town by day ; and at night we observed the illuminated minarets spread-

ing their light over the city, as is customary during the fast of Ramazan."

The preservation of the Christian name in Philadelphia, however dishonoured by the presence of multifarious corruptions, yields an impressive testimony to the early promise made unto it. In the course of its history its existence has been often threatened — earthquakes, persecution, and war have combined against it — but it has been continued in the profession of the faith as the reward of the piety and faithfulness of its ancient citizens. A dark and trying period was foreseen by the inspired writer to be coming "upon all the world;" a promise of security was communicated to the Philadelphians in the prospect of each approaching visitation; and the successive centuries that have revolved since the record of the intimations, have witnessed their striking and peculiar fulfilment. It was an "hour of temptation" when imperial edicts were issued to suppress the faith — when the vengeance of a haughty priesthood was sanctioned and excited by the highest authorities of the empire — and when the followers of the crucified Nazarene were dragged to the cruel sports of the amphitheatre. We are not sufficiently acquainted with the annals of this period, to know how much each particular community suffered; but Philadelphia gave up eleven of her members to martyrdom, and thus exhibited the devotedness which the Saviour commended, in undiminished vigour. Ages of corruption and superstition followed the light and purity of apostolic times, until the degenerate disciples of the faith were called to struggle with Mahomedan des-

potism. The rude chieftains of Bithynia broke in upon the empire of the enervated Greeks, and planted the crescent of their prophet upon the walls of their proudest cities ; but a “local habitation and a name” was still secured to this scene of early Christian triumph, by the gallantry of its defenders and the immutable decisions of Providence. An infidel may doubt with Gibbon, whether, to use his language, the city was saved by PROPHECY or by COURAGE ; but the believer will behold in it the accomplishment of the promise, “**BECAUSE THOU HAST KEPT THE WORD OF MY PATIENCE I ALSO WILL KEEP THEE.**”

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NOTES.

About a mile and a half out of Philadelphia, Smith noticed a thick wall of men's bones, confusedly cemented together with the stones, which he regarded as raised by the command of Bajazet the First, to express his revenge upon the gallant citizens for daring to oppose his arms. "These bones," says Ricaut, "are so entire, that I brought a piece thereof with me from thence." Chandler, however, asserts this wonder to be the remnant of a duct, which conveyed water of a petrifying quality, as at Laodicea. Which are we to believe?

The following extracts from Mr. Hartley's Journal may be interesting. The recent publication of this volume prevented my availing myself of it in the previous part of this work.

"After a ride of four hours, we arrived at Philadelphia. As we drew near, I read with much interest the epistle (*Rev.* iii. 7—13) to that church. The town is situated on a rising ground, beneath the snowy mount Tmolus. The houses are embosomed in trees, which have just assumed their fresh green foliage, and give a beautiful effect to the scene. I counted six minarets. We entered through a ruined wall, massy, but by no means of great antiquity. The streets are excessively ill-paved and dirty. The tear of Christian pity must fall over modern Philadelphia. P. M. We have just ascended the ancient acropolis, a hill above the city, which commands a most extensive prospect. Below is the town, surrounded by its wall, and embosomed in trees. We see this interesting place to peculiar advantage. For several days we have been contending with rain, cold, and adverse weather; but to-day, on arriving at Philadelphia, *Lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in their land*: Cant. ii. 11, 12. The voice of the turtle charmed me greatly during our stay here. This favourite bird is so tame, that it flies about the streets, and comes up close to our door in the khan.

"The remains of antiquity at Philadelphia are not numerous. I have noticed a few beautiful sarcophagi, now devoted to the purpose of troughs; but the ruined wall was probably erected by those who so manfully defended the city previously to its final fall.

"April 24th, 1826. This morning I visited a public school of the Greeks. There were present thirty or forty children: Greek, Romaic, and Turkish, were the objects of attention. The master complained that the neglect of the parents was a great obstacle to improvement: as soon as a child could write sufficiently for the purposes of commerce, he was removed, and employed in business.

"I found in this school a manuscript of the Gospels on vellum; but it is by no means ancient or valuable. It is, however, worthy of notice, that a manuscript was found some time since at Cæsarea, written in uncial letters; which is held in such veneration in that neighbourhood, that the Turks always send for it when they put a Greek upon his oath. It will be well for future travellers to examine it."—p. 306—308.

CHAPTER XI.

LAODICEA.

Οἶδά σου τὰ ἔργα, ὅτι οὔτε ψυχρὸς εἶ, οὔτε ζεστός· ὄφελον ψυχρὸς εἶη
ἢ ζεστός. ΑΠΟΚΑΛ. cap. iii. 15.

Ἐνα σε δεῖ ἀνθρώπον, ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακόν εἶναι. *Epicletus. c. xxxvi.*

Laodicea in Syria.—Antiochus.—Hiero.—Zeno.—Rivers.—Paul's Journey into Phrygia.—Second Journey.—Pisidia.—Laodiceans converted by Paul.—Laodicean Epistle.—Various Opinions.—Apocryphal Epistle.—Ammonius.—Council of Laodicea.—Canon 35.—Theodoret.—Hobbes.—Wars of the Middle Ages.—ESKI-HISSAR. Smith.—Inscriptions.—Ruins.—Denizli.—Tripolis.

ANCIENT geography mentions various cities of this name, and ecclesiastical history records one in Syria, eminent for its distinguished prelates, and for the literary efforts of the heretic Apollinaris and his son. The Laodicea of sacred writ was situated on the confines of Phrygia; and founded by Antiochus, it derived its name from Laodice his wife. At the Christian era it had arrived at a considerable extent; and the opulence of its citizens soon enabled it to rival the

maritime cities in wealth and beauty. Hiero, a Laodicean, left the city out of his fortune more than two thousand talents; and Polemo, the sophist, who was buried by the Syrian gate,³⁶⁰ and his father Zeno, the rhetorician, conferred upon it some literary distinction. A maimed statue has been discovered by modern travellers, probably in honour of the last-mentioned individual, from the inscription of the word

ZHNONOS

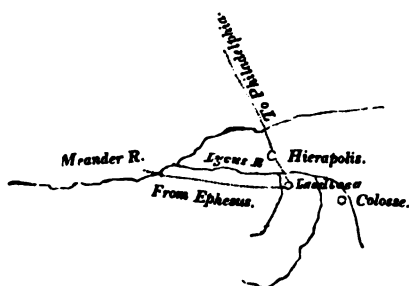
which was found near it. Though separated by the heights of mount Messogies from the Catekekaumene district, yet the neighbouring country bears evident marks of volcanic agency, and the hill of Laodicea in particular has been supposed to have been produced by an eruption. Laodicea was injured by repeated earthquakes in the early periods of its history;³⁶¹ and at a more recent era they have assisted the ravages of man to accomplish its complete destruction.

³⁶⁰ Philostratus. p. 543.

³⁶¹ "Eodum anno ex illustribus Asiæ urbibus, Laodicea, tremore terræ prolapsa, nulla â nobis remedio, propriis viribus revaluit."³⁶²
— *Taciti. Annal. lib. 14.*

³⁶² "The hill of Laodicea consists of dry, impalpable soil, porous, with many cavities, resembling the bore of a pipe; as may be seen on the sides, which are bare. It resounded beneath our horses' feet. The stones are mostly masses of pebbles, or of gravel consolidated, and as light as pumice-stone. We had occasion to dig, and found the earth as hard as any cement. Beneath, on the north, are stone coffins, broken, subverted, or sunk in the ground."

"It is an old observation, that the country about the Meander, the soil being light and friable, and full of salts generating inflammable matter, was undermined by fire and water. Hence, it abounded in hot springs, which, after passing underground from the reservoirs, appeared on the mountain, or were found bubbling up in the plain, or in the mud of the river: and, hence, it was subject to frequent earthquakes; the nitrous vapour, compressed in the cavities, and sub-



The rivers in the neighbourhood of Laodicea are described by Strabo;³⁶³ the one in the plan which joins the Lycus in the vicinity of Laodicea, is the Caprus; and the Cadmus is the one which runs between it and Colosse. The banks of the Lycus were anciently famous for their breed of sheep; "and some shepherds," says Chandler, "came with their flocks to the ruins, and in the evening to the water by the tent."

Phrygia was visited on two occasions by the apostle Paul; and Lardner, Tomline, and Macknight are of opinion, that the churches of Laodicea, Hierapolis, and Colosse, were the fruits of his personal ministry. In opposition to this, it is maintained by Calmet, Horne, and various others, that none of these places

³⁶³ Strabo, lib. xii. cap. viii. p. 75.

limed by heat or fermentation, bursting its prison with loud explosions, agitating the atmosphere, and shaking the earth and waters with a violence as extensive as destructive; and hence, moreover, the pestilential grottos, which had subterraneous communications with each other, derived their noisome effluvia; and, serving as smaller vents to these furnaces or hollows, were regarded as apertures of hell, as passages for deadly fumes rising up from the realms of Pluto. One or more of the mountains perhaps has burned. It may be suspected, that the surface of the country has, in some places, been formed from its own bowels; and in particular it seems probable, that the hill of Laodicea was originally an eruption."

were ever visited by the apostle; and that his route in both tours was considerably to the northward. The two journeys of the apostle through Asia Minor are thus laid down in the Acts of the Apostles:

PAUL'S FIRST ROUTE.³⁶⁴*Provinces.**Towns.*

From Syria into Cilicia; thence crossing mount Taurus into Phrygia, and northward into Galatia; thence westward into Mysia to the coast of the Archipelago at Troas.

Derbe,
Lystra,
Iconium,
Troas.

Now, if we suppose the apostle to have pursued a direct line, with no deviations of any moment, it is certain he could not visit the neighbourhood of Laodicea: his course lay along the eastern and northern Phrygian frontier, completely overlooking the southern districts. But the sacred historian, in his narration, did not cultivate the minuteness of the geographer; he speaks of going "*throughout* Phrygia, and the region of Galatia;"³⁶⁵ which certainly gives us room to suppose, that the principal cities in both provinces were visited, besides those which are specified.³⁶⁶ All the apostle's journeys seem to have been exploratory: the pathway of the missionary is not to be measured by the rule and compasses; and as it is positively stated, that he went throughout the pro-

³⁶⁴ Acts, xvi. 1—8.

³⁶⁵ Acts, xvi. 6.

³⁶⁶ It appears that in this journey, after the apostle had come into Mysia, he assayed to go into Bithynia, which would have been travelling in an opposite direction to Troas, but the Spirit suffered him not.

vince, it is unlikely that he omitted visiting the capital, and the important places in its neighbourhood.

The account of the apostle's second journey, though not so explicit as the former, furnishes more direct evidence of his visiting Laodicea. He not only entered this time the provinces of Galatia and Phrygia, but he went through all that "*country—in order*,"³⁶⁷ which clearly intimates, that he made a regular tour through both districts. Though the historian devotes only a single verse to his notice of this journey, it is obvious from his manner that it was not a hasty visit, but occupied the apostle's time and labour a considerable period. It is observed by Macknight, and there is much force in the remark, that Paul in his travels appears to have gone directly to the chief cities in every country where he proposed to introduce the gospel. The policy and advantages of this plan are obvious; for in the great towns he would have an opportunity of making known his doctrines to multitudes at once, and thus most rapidly effecting the diffusion of Christianity. There are two more journeys of Paul's noticed in the Acts, in which he must have traversed a country at no great distance to the westward of Laodicea. He went on one occasion from Perga to Antiocheia on Taurus; and after preaching in various places he traversed Pisidia and Pamphylia, the neighbouring provinces to Phrygia, and within a day's journey of the apocalyptic city.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁷ Acts, xviii. 23. "And after he had spent some time there (at Antioch) he departed, and went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order."

³⁶⁸ Acts, xiv. 24.

All this does not positively prove that the apostle introduced the gospel to the Laodiceans, but the hypothesis is almost necessarily involved in the inspired narration of his travels.

The arguments adduced to prove that the faith was not planted in Laodicea by Paul, are founded upon two passages in the epistle to the Colossians; for, from the contiguity of the two cities, we may safely assume, that Christianity was introduced into both at the same time, and by the same individual. The apostle observes, "Having heard of your faith in Christ Jesus,"³⁶⁹ which is understood as implying, that the Colossians were not his converts, and that he had only heard of their conversion to the truth. But this is certainly an unauthorized refinement; for it appears to have been a frequent custom with the apostle, after his departure from communities which he had visited, to make inquiries concerning their state and progress, and we frequently find him speaking of having "heard" of the faith and love of those churches which were unquestionably raised by his instrumentality.

Another passage is, however, cited to prove, that the apostle had never visited Laodicea and Colosse: "I wish you to know how great a combat I have for you, and for them in Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh."³⁷⁰ But this by no means proves, that the apostle was a stranger to the Laodiceans and Colossians; for his meaning, according to Theodoret, is obviously this, that he had a combat for the believers in both cities, who had doubtless

³⁶⁹ Colos. i. 4.

³⁷⁰ Colos. ii. 1.

often seen his face ; and not for them alone, but “for as many as had not seen his face in the flesh,” for the communities which had been converted by the labours of others.³⁷¹ He was not only interested in the welfare of them to whom he was known, but in the prosperity of them to whom he was a stranger.³⁷²

From these premises we may safely assume the fact, that the church of Laodicea originated with the labours of Paul, in his numerous journeys through Phrygia. The inhabitants of this province were the

³⁷¹ Lardner. Can. vol. ii. c. 14. Macknight. pref. to Colos.

³⁷² Rosenmüller attributes to Epaphras the introduction of the gospel into Colosse, from chap. i. 7: “As ye have also learned it from Epaphras.” The word *also* clearly indicates a directly contrary opinion ; the Colossians had heard the true faith from Epaphras, and not only from him, but from some other teacher also.

Lardner's and Macknight's arguments in behalf of the apostle Paul's forming the churches of Laodicea, Colosse, and Hierapolis, are as follows :

1. The apostle, speaking to the Colossians, says, chap. i. 25, “Whereof I am made a minister, according to the dispensation of God, which was given me on your account, fully to preach the word of God.” If the “dispensation of God” was given to Paul on “account” of the Colossians, it is unlikely that he would so frequently have entered Phrygia without executing his express commission.

2. The apostle and the Colossians are represented throughout the whole epistle, as being bound to each other by the strongest ties of friendship, which can hardly be supposed would have been the case had they enjoyed no personal intercourse.

3. The salutation to the Colossians was written by the apostle's own hand, as was his custom when writing to the churches he had planted, who knew his handwriting.

4. The Colossians are frequently addressed in such a manner, as to intimate that they had enjoyed the ministry of an inspired apostle.

votaries of Bacchus and Cybele, who was called "Phrygia mater," and whose orgies were celebrated with every kind of debauchery and riot.³⁷³ The overthrow of these corrupt superstitions illustrated the moral power of the gospel, and the miracles that were wrought in Asia commanded the respect of the people for its truths. Long before Paul finished his career Phrygia contained a considerable number of disciples; and as he travelled through this country before he visited Ephesus, it is not improbable that Laodicea was the first of the seven golden lamps that was illumed.

LAODICEAN EPISTLE.

At the period when the epistle to the Colossians was written, about the year 62, a church existed in Laodicea, to which an affectionate salutation is sent by the apostle. Four times he refers to the believers there; and we may judge that they stood high in his estimation, and were endeared to him as the reward of his toils. One of the closing passages in the epistle, has exercised in no slight degree the ingenuity of

³⁷³ "Happy the man who crowned with ivy wreaths,
And brandishing his thyrsus,
The mystic rites of Cuba understands,
And worships mighty Dionusus.
Haste, ye Bacchæ!
Haste! bring our god Sabazian Bromius
From Phrygia's mountains to the realms of Greece."

Eurip. in Strab. Geog. lib. x. p. 468.

divines, and has led many to the conclusion, that a canonical writing must have been sent to this church: "And when this epistle is read among you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the epistle from Laodicea."³⁷⁴ The former part of this verse is plain enough; but the latter clause, the *ἐπιστολὴ ἐκ Λαοδικείας*, is an obscure passage. Was it an epistle which had been sent from Laodicea to Paul? or was it one which he had himself dictated to them? and if so, is it extant or lost? are questions which are naturally suggested.

The epistle in question has been explained to be one which the Laodiceans had forwarded to the apostle, proposing various questions, the answer to which he returned in his letter to the Colossians: hence, the believers in Colosse were directed to forward their letter to the church at Laodicea containing a solution of their supposed queries, and at the same time to make themselves acquainted with the epistle which had originated this reply, in order fully to understand it. This interpretation is connected with the obvious difficulty of supposing the apostle to reply to Colosse to what had been propounded by Laodicea, and to request the former after reading his answers, to search for the questions which they were intended to solve.

The next explanation which has been given, supposes Paul to allude to some epistle which he had written during his residence at Laodicea. Theophylact was one of the first who broached this hypothesis; and he regards the identical epistle to be the first to Timothy, because, according to the Greek subscription,

³⁷⁴ Col. iv. 16.

it was written from the Phrygian city — *Προς Τιμοθεον εγγραφη απο Λαοδικειας*. But the subscriptions to the epistles have been affixed to them anonymously, and are of no authority whatever: besides, we may rest assured that the apostle would not have designated an epistle written *at* Laodicea in such a loose and indefinite manner as *εκ Λαοδικειας*.

The epistle referred to must, therefore, have been one which the Laodiceans had received from Paul, and which the Colossians were directed to request of them when they communicated their own letter. But the question recurs to us, Which and where is this epistle? Among the acknowledged writings of Paul, we find no epistle addressed to the Laodiceans; and it is difficult to conceive that any piece, of divine inspiration, has been lost. Such a supposition impugns the wisdom of the great author of scripture, in permitting that to perish which he inspired and communicated for the instruction of the church. The history of the sacred writings is illustrative of the particular providence of God; at every period they seem to have been under the special guardianship of heaven; and though threatened with destruction from the ignorance and malignity of man, every part of the records of the divine will has been singularly preserved. Though Antiochus Epiphanes industriously sought to extinguish the Old Testament canon, and though the heathen emperors of Rome, and especially Diocletian, did the same with reference to the books of the New Testament, yet a higher power than what was human was employed to ensure their safety, and notwithstanding the prohibitory edicts of the persecutors,

the heaven-indited volume has survived. If then we suppose, that an inspired writing of Paul's which once existed is no longer extant, it must have perished because the same providential care was not extended to it as was afforded to the rest of scripture, or because it was not of any service to the church, either of which conclusions cannot be entertained without reflecting upon the divine intelligence. We have indeed a piece of writing, which goes under the name of Paul's epistle to the Laodiceans; but that it is apocryphal, the work of an impudent but bungling forger, is abundantly evident. An ancient production under this title was extant in the second century, and is mentioned by Theodoret and Jerome; but both fathers agreed in regarding it as false and spurious. There is reason to conclude, that the one we have is not the same as the ancient epistle, as we have it only in Latin. A very late date is ascribed to it by Jones in his work on the canon; and the following collation which he makes, shows it to have been taken from the apostle's acknowledged writings.³⁷⁵

³⁷⁵ The apocryphal books of the New Testament were published by John Albert Fabricius *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*. Hamburgh, 1719. There has been a recent publication of them in English, evidently with a view to lessen the credit of the genuine books of Scripture. "The Apocryphal New Testament, being all the Gospels, Epistles, and other pieces now extant, attributed in the first four centuries to Jesus Christ, his apostles, and their companions, and not included in the New Testament by its compilers.³⁷⁶ Translated, and now collected into one volume, with prefaces and tables, and various notes and references." London, 1820. Jones's translation of the Epistle to the Laodiceans is here given.

³⁷⁶ The following extract from the gospel of the Infancy, is a curious specimen of this production:

*The Epistle of St. Paul to the
Laodiceans.*

*The places in St. Paul's genuine
Epistles, especially that to the Philip-
pians, out of which this to the Laodi-
ceans was compiled.*

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, to the brethren which are at Laodicea. | 1. Gal. i. 1. Paul, an apostle, not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, &c. |
| 2. Grace be to you, and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ. | 2. Gal. i. 3. Grace be to you, and peace from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ. See the same also, Rom. i. 7; 1 Cor. i. 3; 2 Cor. i. 2; Eph. i. 2; Phil. i. 2; Col. i. 2; 1 Thess. i. 2; 2 Thess. i. 2. |
| 3. I thank Christ in every prayer of mine, that ye continue and persevere in good works, looking for that which is promised in the day of judgment. | 3. Phil. i. 3. I thank my God upon every remembrance of you, for your fellowship in the gospel, from the first day until now, &c. |
| 4. Let not the vain speeches of any trouble you, who pervert the truth, that they may draw you aside from the truth of the gospel, which I have preached. | 4. Gal. i. 7. There be some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ, &c. |

“When a certain astronomer who was present, asked the Lord Jesus, whether he had studied astronomy, the Lord Jesus replied, and told him the number of the spheres and heavenly bodies, as also their triangular, square, and sextile aspect; their progressive and retrograde motion; their size and several prognostications, and other things, which the reason of men had never discovered. There was also among them a philosopher well skilled in physic and natural philosophy, who asked the Lord Jesus, whether he had studied physic. He replied, and explained to him physics and metaphysics; also those things which were above and below the power of nature; the powers also of the body, its humours, and their effects; also the number of its members, and bones, veins, arteries, and nerves; the several constitutions of body, hot and dry, cold and moist, and the tendencies of them: how the soul operated upon the body; what its various sensations and faculties were; the faculty of speaking, anger, desire; and lastly, the manner of its composition and dissolution; and other things which the understanding of no creature had ever reached. Then that philosopher arose, and worshipped the Lord Jesus, and said, ‘O Lord Jesus, from henceforth I will be thy disciple and servant.’”

5. And now may God grant, that my converts may attain to a perfect knowledge of the truth of the gospel ; be beneficent, and doing good works which accompany salvation.
6. And now my bonds, which I suffer in Christ, are manifest, in which I rejoice, and am glad.
7. For I know that this shall turn to my salvation for ever, which shall be through your prayer, and the supply of the Holy Spirit.
8. Whether I live or die ; (for) to me to live shall be a life to Christ, to die will be joy.
9. And our Lord will grant us his mercy, that ye may have the same love, and be like-minded.
10. Wherefore, my beloved, as ye have heard of the coming of the Lord, so think and act in fear, and it shall be to you life eternal ;
11. For it is God who worketh in you ;
12. And do all things without sin.
13. And what is best, my beloved, rejoice in the Lord Jesus Christ, and avoid all filthy lucre.
14. Let all your requests be made known to God ; and be steady in the doctrine of Christ.
15. And whatsoever things are sound, and true, and of good report, and
6. Phil. i. 13. My bonds in Christ are manifest.
7. Phil. i. 19. For I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer and the supply of the Spirit.
8. Phil. i. 20, 21. Whether it be by life or death, for to me to live is Christ, to die is gain.
9. Phil. ii. 2. That ye be like-minded, having the same love.
10. Phil. ii. 12. Wherefore my beloved, as ye have always obeyed, &c. work out your salvation with fear ;
11. Phil. ii. 13. For it is God who worketh in you.
12. Phil. ii. 14. Do all things without murmuring, &c. ver. 15, that ye may be blameless.
13. Phil. iii. 1. Finally, my brethren, rejoice in the Lord.
14. Phil. iv. 6. Let your requests be made known unto God.
15. Phil. iv. 8. Whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just,

chaste, and just, and lovely, these things do.

whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, &c.

16. Those things which ye have heard, and received, think on these things, and peace shall be with you.

16. Phil. iv. 9. Those things which ye have both learned, and received, and heard, and seen — do, and the God of peace shall be with you.

17. All the saints salute you.

17. Phil. iv. 22. All the saints salute you.

18. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. Amen.

18. Gal. vi. 18. The grace of our Lord Jesus be with your spirit. Amen.

19. Cause this Epistle to be read to the Colossians, and the Epistle of the Colossians to be read among you.

19. Col. iv. 16. And when this Epistle is read amongst you, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that ye likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea.³⁷⁷

To account for the “epistle from Laodicea,” referred to by the apostle, a considerable number of learned men have conjectured, that the epistle in our canon, inscribed to the Ephesians, was actually written to the Laodiceans. This hypothesis is supported by the names of Grotius, Le Clerc, Mill, Wetstein, and Paley; but a cursory review of their arguments drawn by the master-hand of Lardner demonstrates their futility.³⁷⁸

I. Marcion, a heretic of the second century, is reported by Tertullian, as having “said the epistle to the Ephesians was written to the Laodiceans,” or “called *this* the epistle to the Laodiceans.” Though the testimony of Marcion, as Paley observes, may not

³⁷⁷ Jones on the Canon. vol. ii. pp. 33 — 35. Apoc. New Test. pp. 73, 74.

³⁷⁸ Lardner. vol. ii. pp. 263, 264.

be diminished by his heresy; yet it is impaired by the unwarrantable liberties which he took with the sacred writings, to make them favour his sentiments. His opinion when viewed in connexion with the mutilations of the sacred volume which he proposed, is obviously of little value; and as Tertullian does not say that he founded it on any extant MSS. which he had seen, we have reason to regard it as a wholly unauthorized assumption.

II. An ambiguous passage in Basil's second book against Eunomius has been cited to prove, that the original inscription of the epistle, addressed the "saints who are," and the "faithful in Christ Jesus," omitting the words "in Ephesus." The quotation is in the following terms: "And writing to the Ephesians, as truly united to him 'who is' through knowledge, he called them in a peculiar sense 'such who are,' saying 'to the saints who are' (or even) 'to the faithful in Christ Jesus;' for so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it in ancient copies."³⁷⁹ It is inferred by Dr. Mill from these words of Basil, and his interpretation is confirmed by Paley, that he had seen some manuscripts in which the words *εν Εφεσω* were omitted. But granting this to have been the case, it is obvious that the great majority of ancient manuscripts had the received reading, which determined the church in its application of the epistle. The difficulty is met by Michaelis, by supposing the letter to have been encyclical or circular, addressed to various communities in the Lesser Asia, and that the different

³⁷⁹ The original passage with some learned remarks is in Michaelis. vol. iv. pp. 142 — 146.

copies had *εν Εφεσω* at Ephesus, *εν Λαοδικεία* at Loadicea as occasion required. But even this supposition does not fully meet the case; for it supposes, as bishop Middleton has remarked, what can never be proved, that the canon was established by authority, and that all copies of the epistle not agreeing with the approved edition were suppressed. Upon this controverted and difficult subject, the opinion perhaps the least liable to objection is that of Macknight, who imagines that Paul sent the Ephesians word by Tychicus, the bearer of the epistle, to forward a copy of it to the Laodiceans, with a direction to them to transmit it to the Colossians. The epistle then to which the apostle directs the attention of the Colossians as connected with Laodicea, was a copy of the one sent to the Ephesians, which they were ordered to read, and in return to communicate the contents of their own letter. As we cannot believe that any inspired production has been allowed to perish, and as the epistle under the name of Paul to the Laodiceans is evidently a monkish forgery of the middle ages, this is the most satisfactory solution of the difficulties connected with the question.

CHURCH IN LAODICEA.

At the close of the apostolic age the Laodiceans had forfeited the excellent character which they bear in the pages of Paul; their concern for religion had rapidly diminished; their thoughts and feelings were absorbed by worldly objects; and no remnant re-

mained, as among the degenerate Sardians, retaining their pristine spirituality and zeal. The delinquency of this church was not, however, of that flagrant description which is reproved in the other epistles; the impious deeds of the Nicolaitanes or of the woman Jezebel are not charged upon its members; but the piety of the community had deteriorated, and a spirit of formality and indifference been induced. The language employed by the Saviour is admirably characteristic of their state; "neither cold nor hot;" not wholly alienated from the truth, and not sincerely attached to it; maintaining a Christian profession in the total absence of a Christian spirit. An attention was paid to the routine of religious observance as a meritorious act; and the vain presumption was entertained that a title to heavenly blessedness was communicated by the outward ceremonial. As Laodicea was eminent for the wealth and opulence of its citizens, some of these might have been introduced into the church,³⁸⁰ and the decline of its spiritual interests may have been occasioned by the corrupting influence of worldly distinction. The evils which existed are indignantly reprehended; the nominal and insincere professor the Saviour declares he abhors and nauseates; and the wish is expressed with reference to the Laodiceans, that they would be either practically attached, or openly alien to the truth.³⁸¹ "Thou oughtest," says Epictetus,³⁸² "to be one kind of man; either a good man or a bad man."

³⁸⁰ "Thou sayest I am rich, and increased with goods, and have need of nothing." — *Rev.* iii. 17.

³⁸¹ "I would thou wert cold or hot." — *Rev.* iii. 15.

³⁸² *Epict.* *Ench.* c. xxxvi.

The subsequent history of Laodicea, has been confounded by many ecclesiastical writers with that of its Syrian namesake; but the former church held on an enfeebled and lingering existence, while the latter was one of the most distinguished communities in the Christian world. Its annals are adorned with the names of Anatolius, George, and Apollinarius, eminent for their literary attainments; while the Phrygian city presents us with its bishop Ammonius, one of the creatures of the empress Eudoxia, employed in persecuting the eloquent and virtuous Chrysostom.³⁸³

A council appears to have been held at Laodicea, according to Lardner, about the year 363;³⁸⁴ but the time when it assembled, as well as its proceedings, are but imperfectly known. Theodoret informs us in a note on Coloss. ii. 18, that the thirty-fifth canon condemned the worship of angels, a notion which at an early period was industriously disseminated. "This mischief," says he, "continued long in Phrygia and Pisidia; hence, the council which met at Laodicea, in Phrygia, made a law against praying to angels, and to this very day there are to be seen among them, and in the neighbouring parts, the oratories of St. Michael." The worship of the archangel Michael, under his Greek name Taxiarches, still obtains in the eastern church; and a legend of his miraculous interference in behalf of his votaries, is still prevalent in

³⁸³ Leontius bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, Ammonius of Laodicea in Pisidia, Acacius of Beræa in Syria, and Briso of Philippi in Thrace, were the principal members of the synod convened to depose Chrysostom. — *Socrat. Schol.* lib. vii. c. 18.

³⁸⁴ Lardner. vol. viii. p. 293.

the district to which Theodoret refers.³⁸⁵ The thirty-fifth canon of the Laodicean council, which condemned this idolatry, is expressed in the following terms: "Christians ought not to leave the church of God and go and name angels or gather assemblies. If, therefore, any one is found to practise this secret idolatry, let him be anathema, because he has left our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and has turned to idolatry."

It was asserted by Hobbes, to throw discredit upon the New Testament, that the books which it recognises were never accounted canonical until the meeting of the council of Laodicea. But this statement, like many of the assumptions of modern infidelity, is wholly without proof, and furnishes another instance of the dishonesty of its advocates. The canons of the council present us with a formal catalogue of the books of the New Testament, and the earliest extant; but long previous the canon had been settled; and there is reason to suppose that the bishops at Laodicea merely designed to make a list of those which were to be publicly read in the churches. This seems probable from the omission of the Revelations; for having been abused by many of the early heretics, it was not deemed proper to bring its contents so publicly before the people. We have the authority of Eusebius, that John received the gospels of his colleagues as divinely inspired; and the collection of the majority of the Christian writings, is attributed with great probability by Lardner to soon after the middle of the first century.

³⁸⁵ See notes to the next chapter.

The judgment pronounced upon Laodicea for its early lethargy and defection, began to be realized upon the decline of the Lower empire; and when abandoned by the emperors, it received its long foretold doom at the hands of the Turk, and was prostrated in the dust. About the year 1097 it was possessed by the Turks, and submitted to Ducas, general of the emperor Alexis. In 1120 the Turks sacked some of the cities of Phrygia by the Meander; but were defeated by the emperor, John Comnenus, who took Laodicea, and built anew or repaired the walls. About 1161 it was again unfortified. Many of the inhabitants were then killed with their bishop, or carried with their cattle into captivity by the Turks. In 1190 the German emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, going by Laodicea with his army on a crusade, was received so kindly, that he prayed on his knees for the prosperity of the people. About 1196 this region with Caria was dreadfully ravaged by the Turks. The sultan on the invasion by the Tartars in 1255, gave Laodicea to the Romans; but they were unable to defend it, and it soon returned to the Turks. The total ruin of the city was speedily consummated, and for centuries it has been a scene of abandonment and desolation.

ESKI-HISSAR.

Laodicea, reported to have been the mother church of sixteen bishoprics, has now neither church, nor altar, nor inhabitant; and a miserable village, a short

distance from its site, shelters the scanty wreck of its once numerous population. The hill upon which it was situated, is described as "one tumulus of ruins;" arches, pillars, and remnants of magnificent buildings are strewn around its base; and the only living creatures which occupy the melancholy spot are the wolf and jackal. The mournful description of the holy city of scripture is here fully verified: "Zion is desolate, the foxes walk upon it."

"Laodicea," says Smith, ("called by the Turks Eski-hissar, or the Old Castle), a city of Lydia, according to the geography of the ancients, is situated upon six or seven hills, taking up a vast compass of ground. To the north and north-east of it runs the river Lycus at about a mile and a half distance, but more nearly watered by two little rivers, Asopus and Caper, whereof the one is to the west, the other to the south-east; both which pass into the Lycus, and that into the Meander. It is now utterly desolated, and without any inhabitant, except wolves, and jackals, and foxes; but the ruins show sufficiently what it has been formerly, the three theatres and the circus adding much to the stateliness of it, and arguing its greatness. That whose entrance is to the north-east is very large, and might contain between twenty and thirty thousand men, having about fifty steps, which are about a yard broad and a foot and a quarter in height one from another, the plain at the bottom being about thirty yards over. A second opens to the west; a third, a small one (called by Chandler, an odeum or music theatre), to the south: the circus has about two and twenty steps, which remain firm

and entire, and is above three hundred and forty paces in length from one end to the other, the entrance to the east. At the opposite extremity is a cave that has a very handsome arch, upon which we found an inscription, purporting that the building occupied twelve years in the construction, and was dedicated to Vespasian, and was completed during the consulate of Trajan, in the 82nd year of the Christian era."

The inscription referred to is given in the *Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, and may be thus translated :

"TO THE EMPEROR TITUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS VESPASIAN, SEVEN TIMES CONSUL, SON OF THE EMPEROR THE GOD VESPASIAN; AND TO THE PEOPLE . NICOSTRATUS THE YOUNGER, SON OF LYCIUS, SON OF NICOSTRATUS, DEDICATED AT HIS OWN EXPENSE; NICOSTRATUS HIS HEIR, HAVING COMPLETED WHAT REMAINED OF THE WORK, AND MARCUS ULPUS TRAJANUS THE PROCONSUL HAVING CONSECRATED IT."³⁸⁶

The seventh consulate of Vespasian was the year 79 of the Christian era, and the consulship of Trajan in the year 82: twelve years were occupied in the erection of the building.

By another ruin upon a pedestal Chandler traced an inscription, which illustrates the one respecting the amphitheatre. It relates to the same family, and to the same benefactors:

³⁸⁶ *Inscript. Antiq.* p. 30.

“THE SENATE AND PEOPLE HAVE HONOUR-ED TATIA, DAUGHTER OF NICOSTRATUS, SON OF PERICLES, A NEW HEROINE, BOTH ON ACCOUNT OF THE MAGISTRACIES AND MINISTRIES, AND PUBLIC WORKS OF HER FATHER, AND ON ACCOUNT OF HER GREAT UNCLE NICOSTRATUS, WHO LATELY BESIDES HIS OTHER BENEFACTIONS WAS PRIEST OF THE CITY, AND CHANGED THE STADIUM INTO AN AMPHITHEATRE.”³⁸⁷

“On the north side of the amphitheatre, toward the east end, is the ruin of a most ample edifice. It consists of many piers and arches of stone, with pedestals and marble fragments. At the west end lies a large stone with an inscription: ‘The city or people has erected Ased a man of sanctity and piety, and recorder for life, on account of his services to his country.’ This fabric was perhaps the repository of the laws, and contained the senate-house, the money-exchange, and public offices. It has been remarked, that the waters of Laodicea, though drinkable, had a petrifying quality; and at the east end of this ruin is a mass of incrustation formed by the current, which was conveyed to it in earthen pipes.—From this ruin you see the odeum which fronted southward. The seats remain in the side of the hill. The materials of the front lie in a confused heap. The whole was of marble. Sculpture had been lavished on it,

³⁸⁷ The city increasing, the stadium was not sufficiently large, and Nicostratus, to accomodate the people it seems, enlarged and lengthened it, and converted it into an amphitheatre.—*Chandler*. i. 282. *Inscript. Antiq.* p. 31.

and the style savoured less of Grecian taste than Roman magnificence.

“Beyond the odeum are some marble arches standing with pieces of massive wall, the ruin, as we conjectured, of a gymnasium. This fabric, with one at a small distance, appear to have been re-edified, probably after an earthquake, to which calamity Laodicea was remarkably subject. Westward from it are three marble arches crossing a dry valley as a bridge. Many traces of the city wall may be seen, with broken columns and pieces of marble used in its later repairs. Within the whole surface is strewn with pedestals and fragments. The luxury of the citizens may be inferred from their other sumptuous buildings, and from two capacious theatres in the side of the hill, fronting northward and westward, each with its seats still rising in numerous rows one above another.”³⁸⁸

Eski-hissar, the “old castle,” the modern representative of Laodicea, is an insignificant village, with about fifty inhabitants, of whom only two are Christians. It has been built up from the ruins of the ancient city, as well as the considerable town of Denizli in its neighbourhood. On the slope of mount MESSOGIES, at a short distance from the Meander, there is an interesting locality, the site of the ancient Tripolis. This place, according to tradition, was the scene of the labours of Bartholomew and the martyrdom of Philip, and its bishops are frequently mentioned in the councils of the church. The second emperor of Nice, John Ducas, had here an interview with the

³⁸⁸ Chandler. i. 282.

Turkish sultan in 1244; and soon after it was enlarged and fortified as a bulwark to protect Philadelphia. In the fourteenth century it was a Turkish stronghold; and Alisurus made from it his destructive inroads into the empire. The church and city are now extinct; and a confused heap of ruins³⁸⁹ marks their site, upon the green declivities of the mountain range of Messogies. The total destruction of the once magnificent capital of Phrygia, powerfully directs the attention of the Christian to the story of its early privileges and degeneracy. Whatever effect was produced upon the slumbering Laodiceans by the message of the evangelist, whether or not they were roused from their lethargy, and stripped of their conceited and self-righteous notions, the desolation that now appears upon the site of their city, affords melancholy evidence of subsequent ages of deterioration and crime. The doom of excom-

³⁸⁹ "On approaching them we first saw a mass of ruin, of which three walls are in part standing, nearly north and south. The theatre was beyond these fronts to the west: the seats are removed, but some of the walls of the proscenium remain, and some arches of the side entrances. Among a heap of stones in the proscenium, is a mutilated figure of a Bacchanal. The breadth of the theatre, in its interior diameter, is one hundred and seventy feet. Going to the back of the theatre towards the north-east, we saw several much decayed pillars scattered about; and beyond these, remains of the city walls running down from north to south; on the other side of these, a deep ravine; and on the opposite hill, numerous sepulchral vaults, and some sarcophagi. On the northern summit of the hill is a square entrenchment, which I had not time to visit. Returning to the theatre, saw on the right, that is, on the north side, a stadium, running north and south. Towards the south, all along from east to west, fragments of walls, pillars, &c. I could not discover a single inscription." — *Arundel*. p. 225.

munication was pronounced by the Saviour—their separation from the pale of the church as something nauseous and loathsome was threatened—and after a lengthened course of vicissitude and humiliation, they have been blotted from the map of nations and from the family of God. A prospect of mouldering sarcophagi and half-entombed ruins, meets the eye of the occasional visiter; and the wind sighing over the hill of Laodicea, with the melancholy cry of the jackal, are the only sounds that break in upon the solitude.

NOTES.

Pliny mentions Laodicea, with the rivers in its vicinity:

"Celeberrima urbs Laodicea imposita est Lyco flumini, latera alluentibus Asopo et Capro."—*lib. v. cap. 29.*

They are thus described by Strabo:

Ενταυθα δε ο Καπρος, και ο Λυκος συμβαλλει τω Μαιανδρω ποταμω, ποταμος ευμεγεθης· αφ ου και η προς τω Λυκω Λαοδικεια λεγεται. Υπερκειται δε της πολεως ορος Καδμος, εξ ου και ο Λυκος ρει· και αλλος ομωνυμος τω ορει.—*lib. xii. cap. 8. p. 75.*

The Lycus, Caprus, and Æsopus are represented upon medals of Laodicea. The Chrysorhoas, another name for the Lycus, appears upon medals of Hierapolis.

"Laodicea is even more solitary than Ephesus: the latter has a prospect of a rolling sea, or a whitening sail, to enliven its decay; the former sits in widowed loneliness, its walls are grass-grown, its temples desolate, its very name has perished.—Whilst we sat upon the bank of its amphitheatre, the dense waxy clouds seemed gathering for a storm, and hurried past us swoln with their tempestuous burthen; a gloomy shadow enveloped the summits of mount Cadmus, that had a moment before been glittering in the sun-shine; and at length, a distant muttered thunder warned us away, and we hurried on to the village where we had sent our horses. When the storm had passed, we left Eski-hissar, amidst lowering clouds and misty rain; but we preferred hastening on, to a further delay in that melancholy spot, where every thing whispered desolation, and where the very wind that swept impetuously through the valley, sounded like the fiendish laugh of Time exulting above the overthrow of man and his proudest monuments."—*Emerson's Letters.*

CHAPTER XII.

COLOSSE AND HIERAPOLIS.

Τοῖς ἐν Κολοσσαῖς ἀγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ
ΚΟΛΟΣΣ. cap. i. 2.

Μαρτυρῶ γὰρ αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἔχει ζῆλον πολὺν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐν
Λαοδικείᾳ, καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπολὲι. ΚΟΛΟΣΣ. cap. iv. 13.

COLOSSE. *Herodotus.* — *Paul's Epistle.* — *Bishops of Chonæ.* —
KHONAS. *Picenini.* — *Hartley.* — *Arundel.* — HIERAPOLIS. *In-*
scriptions. — *Papias.* — *Claudius Apollinaris.* — *Xenaias.* —
PAMBOUK-KALESI. *Inscription.* — *Cliff.* — *Plutonium.* — *Remarks.*

COLOSSE and Hierapolis, situated in the immediate vicinity of Laodicea, were intimately associated with it in the rise, progress, and corruption of Christianity. Though no distinct message is addressed in the apocalypse to them, yet within the district which is inspected by the Saviour, and possessing eminent churches at that era, they properly fall under our notice.

COLOSSE.

Though not so considerable as Laodicea, Colosse was much more ancient, being mentioned by Herodotus in his time as an eminent city.³⁹⁰ It was visited by Xerxes with his army when on his march to Greece.³⁹¹ The historian mentions a curious fact with reference to the Lycus; that at Colosse it enters a chasm of the earth, and at the distance of seven stadia emerges and pursues its course to the Meander.³⁹² This phenomenon at once identifies the site of the city; but no traveller has hitherto accurately explored the country, so as to ascertain the correctness of the historian, and demonstrate precisely the situation of Colosse.³⁹³

The arguments which support the opinion, that the gospel was introduced to the Colossians by Paul, have been detailed in the preceding chapter; and the epistle which he addressed to them, proves the striking success with which its ministry by him had been crowned. False teachers seem to have made an early

³⁹⁰ Herod. lib. vii. c. 30.

³⁹¹ The Persians from Colosse seem to have passed over the site of Laodicea and Philadelphia (not then in existence) on their route to Sardis. The beautiful plane tree which Xerxes admired, was in this neighbourhood on the banks of the Meander. — *Herod. lib. vii. c. 31.*

³⁹² Εσ χάσμα γῆς εκβαλλων· επειτα δια σταδιων ως μαλιστα κη πεντε αναφαινομενος, εκδιδοιεις τον Μαιανδρον. — *Herod. lib. vii. c. 30.*

³⁹³ The Alexandrian and Vatican MSS. read this word *Calassæ*, but the coins of the city are stamped ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΟΙ and ΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ.

CHAPTER XII.

COLOSSE AND HIERAPOLIS.

Τοῖς ἐν Κολοσσαῖς ἁγίοις καὶ πιστοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ
ΚΟΛΟΣΣ. cap. i. 2.

Μαρτυρῶ γὰρ αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἔχει ζῆλον πολὺν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ τῶν ἐν
Λαοδικείᾳ, καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει. ΚΟΛΟΣΣ. cap. iv. 13.

COLOSSE. *Herodotus. — Paul's Epistle. — Bishops of Chonæ. —*
KHONAS. *Picenini. — Hartley. — Arundel. —* HIERAPOLIS. *In-*
scriptions. — Papias. — Claudius Apollinaris. — Xenaias. —
PAMBOUK-KALESI. *Inscription. — Cliff. — Plutonium. — Remarks.*

COLOSSE and Hierapolis, situated in the immediate vicinity of Laodicea, were intimately associated with it in the rise, progress, and corruption of Christianity. Though no distinct message is addressed in the apocalypse to them, yet within the district which is inspected by the Saviour, and possessed by the *ancient churches at* that era, they properly fall

attack upon this church ; but the believers applied in their perplexity to the apostle as their spiritual father, and the epistle to them, which bears his name, was communicated to preserve them from their insidious attempts. He places before them the Saviour he had preached, in his divine character and redeeming acts, as the only ground of human hope, in opposition to those who maintained the expiatory rites of the Levitical institute ; and cautions them against the vain speculations of Platonism, a philosophy to which the Phrygians were attached. Epaphras,³⁹⁴ Archippus,³⁹⁵ Onesimus, and Philemon,³⁹⁶ appear to have belonged to this church.

That the Colossians participated in the apathy and luke-warmness which characterised their brethren in

³⁹⁴ Coloss. iv. 12. "Epaphras, who is one of you, a servant of Christ." The Greeks make him bishop of Colosse.

³⁹⁵ Coloss. iv. 17. "And say to Archippus, 'Take heed to the ministry.'" The Greeks make him bishop of Laodicea, and honour him as a martyr in the reign of Nero.

³⁹⁶ Coloss. iv. 9. "With Onesimus, a faithful and beloved brother, who is one of you."³⁹⁷

³⁹⁷ "Observe," says Paley, "how it may be made out that Onesimus was a Colossian. Turn to the epistle to Philemon, and you will find that Onesimus was the servant or slave of Philemon. The question, therefore, will be, to what city Philemon belonged. In the epistle addressed to him this is not declared. It appears only that he was of the same place, whatever that place was, with an eminent Christian named Archippus: 'Paul, a prisoner of Jesus Christ, and Timothy our brother, unto Philemon our dearly beloved and fellow-labourer; and to our beloved Apphia, and Archippus our fellow-soldier, and to the church in thy house.' Now turn back to the epistle to the Colossians, and you will find Archippus saluted by name amongst the Christians of that church: 'Say to Archippus, Take heed to the ministry which thou hast received in the Lord that thou fulfil it.' (iv. 17.) The necessary result is, that Onesimus also was of the same city, agreeably to what is said of him, 'he is one of you.'" — *Horæ Pauline*. p. 290.

Laodicea, we have no evidence; but the general apostacy of the eastern church swept away every trace of that piety which endeared them to the apostle, and in the succeeding calamities of Asia the city disappeared. Eusebius relates that it was destroyed by an earthquake in the tenth year of Nero; but it doubtless rose from its ruins, though it probably never regained its former consequence. In the tenth century, the time of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Colosse was known by the altered title of Chonæ, *Χῶναι*; and as early as the year 787, we find the bishop of Chonæ subscribing to the second Nicene or the seventh general council. Chonæ is evidently the same with the modern Khonas, a town at a short distance from the site of the ancient Colosse; and which probably bears the same affinity to it, as Eski-hissar and Denizli to Laodicea.

KHONAS.

The interior of Asia Minor, to the west of Laodicea, is but imperfectly known, travellers having been deterred from exploring it by the rudeness and hostility of the natives. The village of Khonas is described in the diary of Picenini, as standing under a very high and almost inaccessible hill, the cottages on the steep or acclivity, from which there was a view over the plain. On the summit of this rock are the ruins of Turkish fortifications, and here was the stronghold of Soley Bey, who made it his common residence. "The

view from this elevation," says Mr. Hartley, "is imposing; close beneath is Khonas, presenting to the eye a considerable extent of flat roofs, and trees, and gardens. That we were near some ancient city appeared evident, from the rollers which we observed upon almost every roof. These are parts of ancient columns, which have been removed from their places to perform this service."³⁹⁸

It is to be regretted that the search after the remains of Colosse has hitherto been so unsuccessful; the face of the country is indeed covered with ruins, but no memorial has been discovered to determine the exact site of the city. It would be no difficult matter, one would imagine, to ascertain whether the Lycus ran for seven stadia under ground; and the verifying of this historical observation, would at once settle the geography of the district.³⁹⁹ But Chandler was driven away by the apparent hostility of the aga or the fears of his janizary; Pococke appears to have been unaccountably perplexed by ancient authorities; while a more recent visiter, Mr. Arundel, had like to have been frightened by a thunder storm out of all respect for the authority of Herodotus and the memory of the Colosians. He gives us, however, by far the best account of this part: "After walking," he remarks, "a considerable time (the guide) brought us to a place where

³⁹⁸ Journal. p. 284.

³⁹⁹ Mr. Hartley pleads, "Want of time and the obstacles thrown in our way, prevented that accurate investigation of the country which would have been requisite. Let future travellers follow up the Lycus from Laodicea, and I have little doubt but they will find Colosse." — p. 285. The discovery, however, would have amply repaid him a little trouble in the attempt.

a number of large squared stones lay about, and then showed us what seemed to have been a small church, which had been lately excavated, having been completely under the surface of the soil. It was long and narrow, and semicircular at the east end. Passing through several fields, in which were many more stones, I remarked one which had an imperfect inscription. The only letters I could distinguish were ΤΥΟΧΥ ΗΝΩΝ Not far from hence we saw a few vaults, and were told by a Greek that some walls not far off were the remains of two churches. Beyond this we came to a level space elevated, by a perpendicular brow of considerable height, above the fields below. Here were several vestiges of an ancient city, arches, vaults, &c.; and the whole of this and the adjoining grounds strewn with broken pottery. Our search for the river was so far ineffectual; and thunder and a sky as black as night threatening instant torrents, we retraced our course, and when the rain began took shelter in a natural cave formed of beautiful stalactites. In many of the grounds adjoining were vaults and ancient vestiges, but we could find no inscriptions. We returned to the village heartily tired and sufficiently wet. It was a severe disappointment to leave Khonas without ascertaining the actual existence of the *χασμα γης* in which the Lycus disappears.⁴⁰⁰

Upon the whole there is every reason to conclude that Khonas is the modern representative of Colosse; that the city was situated in its immediate vicinity; and that the ruins which are scattered upon the fields

⁴⁰⁰ Arundel. p. 99.

cultivated by the Ottoman serfs, are the remnants of its ancient splendour. The village contains besides the Turks, about fifty houses inhabited by Greeks; but they are ignorant of their own language, and worship in a room, which Picenini compares to a cellar rather than a church.

HIERAPOLIS.

Hierapolis, according to the Antonine Itinerary, was six miles from Laodicea; and from the multitude of its temples received its designation of the *holy city*, *ἱερὸν holy*, and *πόλις a city*. It was anciently celebrated as the Bath of Asia; and its warm medicinal springs raised it to wealth and distinction. These springs flowed so copiously, that the city was filled with "spontaneous baths," and the waters, consecrated to Æsculapius and Hygeia, were famed for their healing virtue. The Hierapolitans are styled in inscriptions "the most splendid," their senate "the most powerful;" and an encomium in verse upon the city has been found among the ruins of a theatre:

"HAIL! GOLDEN CITY, HIERAPOLIS! THE
SPOT TO BE PREFERRED BEFORE ANY IN WIDE
ASIA; REVERED FOR THE BILLS OF THE NYMPHS;
ADORNED WITH SPLENDOUR."⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰¹ Inscript. Antiq. p. 31.

Hierapolis is once mentioned in the New Testament, in the epistle of Paul to the Colossians, who refers to the strong affection which Epaphras had for the believers there.⁴⁰² Though Christianity had been planted among them by the labours of the apostle, yet it is likely, that they had been favoured also with the ministry of Epaphras, who reported to him at Rome the spiritual progress of his converts in the three cities. Religion appears to have flourished greatly at Hierapolis in the early periods of the Christian history; and the names of some of its bishops are eminent in the annals of the church. Soon after the close of the apostolic age, the Hieropolitan church was under the care of Papias, the most ancient of the primitive fathers upon record. Irenæus represents him to have been a disciple of John, and companion of Polycarp; and ecclesiastical history awards to him the ambiguous honour of being the first collector of traditions. He wrote *An Explication of the Oracles of the Lord*, in five books; only a few fragments of which have been preserved. Eusebius speaks of him as a simple credulous man; and as he appears to have made it his business to collect the marvellous stories that were circulated in that age respecting the apostles, it is but little to be regretted that his writings are lost.⁴⁰³

Another of the primitive fathers, Claudius Apollinaris, is recognised as a bishop of Hierapolis, and flourished about the year 176. Little is known con-

⁴⁰² Coloss. iv. 13.

⁴⁰³ *Fragmenta librorum Papiæ, ex Irenæo, Eusebio, Andrea Cæsarensi, Œcumenio, Dr. Grabe. Spicilegium S. S. Patrum, &c.*

cerning this individual; but Eusebius, Jerome, Theodoret, and Photius speak of him as a learned and eloquent man. He wrote an *Apology for the Christians*, which he presented to M. Antoninus — *Five books against the Gentiles* — *Two books on Truth* — *Two books against the Jews*, and against the *Heresy of the Montanists*; but of his numerous works there are no remains.

During the reign of the emperor Anastasius, in the fifth century, Xenaïas, a bishop of Hierapolis, in connexion with Nicias of Laodicea, appears to have acted a prominent part in the troubles which agitated the eastern church. Many particulars are related of him by the historians Evragius, Nicephorus, and Cedrenus; who represent him as an imperious and unprincipled prelate.⁴⁰⁴ But the distractions which were now fomented by priestly ambition, were soon after terminated by the irruption of the barbarians, and Hierapolis with the neighbouring cities was swept away in the tide of desolation.

PAMBOUK-KALESI.

The site of Hierapolis is covered with the most magnificent remains — mouldering temples, statuary, and columns, evidence in their decay the wealth and splendour that once existed — while a few Turcoman cottages render the scene not so completely desolate as at Laodicea or Colosse. The mineral waters for

⁴⁰⁴ Evrag. lib. iii. c. 31.

which it was renowned still exist, though the votaries of Æsculapius have vanished, and the "water of life" has ceased to flow. Smith found an inscription among the ruins of a theatre, a relic of the worship of Apollo:

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΑΡΧΗΤ

"To Apollo, the chief president."

A trace of the existence and early triumphs of Christianity is said to exist in the remains of two churches which are still visible,⁴⁰⁵ and the description which has been given of these interesting ruins, attests the influence which the truth once exercised.

The Turkish name Pambouk-Kalesi, "*cotton castle*," which has been given to the ruined city, refers to the white incrustations like ice-bergs which its springs have produced. "The view," says Chandler, of these extraordinary petrifications "was so marvellous, that the description of it, to bear even a faint resemblance, ought to appear romantic. The vast slope, which at a distance we had taken for chalk, was now beheld with wonder, it seeming an immense frozen cascade, the surface wavy, as of water at once fixed, or in its headlong course suddenly petrified. Round about us were many high, bare, stony ridges; and close by our tent one with a wide basis, and a slender rill of water, clear, soft, and warm, running in a small channel on the top. A woman was washing linen in it, with a child at her back; and beyond were cabins of the Turcomans, standing distinct, much neater

⁴⁰⁵ One of these structures is said to be three hundred feet long.

than any we had seen ; each with poultry feeding, and a fence of reeds in front.

“The hot waters of Hierapolis have produced that most extraordinary phenomenon, the cliff, which is one entire incrustation. They were anciently renowned for this species of transformation. It is related they changed so easily, that being conducted about the vineyards and gardens, the channels became long fences, each a single stone. They produced the ridges by our tent. The road up to the ruins, which appears as a wide and high causey, is a petrification, and overlooks many green spots, once vineyards and gardens, separated by partitions of the same material. The surface of the flat, above the cliff, is rough with stone and with channels, branching out in various directions ; a large pool overflowing and feeding the numerous rills, some of which spread over the slope as they descend, and give to the white stony bed a humid look, resembling salt or driven snow when melting. This crust, which has no taste or smell, being an alkaline, will ferment with acids ; and Picenini relates, that trial of it had been made with spirit of vitriol. The waters, though hot, were used in agriculture.”⁴⁰⁶

Pococke describes these springs as having the taste of the Pyrmont waters, having in them a great quantity of sulphur. They are mentioned by the ancients as excellent for dyeing, and an inscription which has been found mentions the company of dyers. When Tamerlane invaded this country, many of his men are said to have been destroyed by drinking of a spring which stagnated and petrified. This was at a spot

⁴⁰⁶ Vol. i. p. 288.

called Tangüzlik, where they were encamped, but probably the place was Hierapolis.

Besides its mineral waters, Hierapolis was famed, according to Strabo,⁴⁰⁷ for a Plutonium or Mephitic cavern. "This was an opening in a small brow of the adjacent mountain, capable of admitting a man, and very deep, with a square fence before it, enclosing about half an acre ; which space was filled with black thick mist, so that the bottom could be scarcely discerned. The air, to those who approached it, was innocent on the outside of the fence, being clear of the mist in serene weather, it remaining then within the boundary ; but there death abode. Bulls, as at Nysa, dropped down, and were dragged forth without life ; and some sparrows which Strabo let fly, instantly fell senseless. But eunuchs, the priests of Magna Mater, or Cybele, could go in quite to the aperture, lean forward, or enter it unharmed ; but they held their breath, as their visages testified, and sometimes until in danger of suffocation. Strabo, the relater, was in doubt, whether all eunuchs could do this, or only they of the temple ; and whether they were preserved by divine Providence, as in cases of enthusiasm, or were possessed of some powerful antidotes. But it is likely this mist was the condensed steam of the hot waters,⁴⁰⁸ made noxious by the qualities of the soil ; and that the whole secret of the priests consisted in carrying their faces high in the air, as another spectator has observed they always did, and in avoiding respiration when they stooped. I had hoped the description of

⁴⁰⁷ Strabo. p. 629.

⁴⁰⁸ Pausanias. p. 152.

this spot would have enabled me to find it, but I searched about for it unsuccessfully."

The story of Hierapolis is similar to that of the sister cities of Colosse and Laodicea: receiving the truths of the gospel in apostolic times, it apostatized with them from the faith; and a retributive providence has not only cast it from the pale of the church, but removed it from the world. Its far-famed springs, the source of its ancient wealth, are now avoided by the Turcoman as noxious; and the living stream of spiritual truth which Paul and Epaphras dispensed, has been long since dried up. The massive remains of its theatres and gymnasium, indicate that its inhabitants were lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; and the fondness of the ancients for their popular amusements, presented one of the most formidable obstacles to the influence of Christianity, and contributed to its early corruption and decline. But the heroes of the circus and the stage have vanished; the beautiful structures which witnessed the diversions of congregated thousands are deserted and in ruins; and the scenes of temptation which they upheld exist no longer. The whole of this district, once one of the most fertile and populous portions of the globe—chosen on account of its scenic beauties to be the favourite residence of the heathen deities—contended for by the mightiest armies of the east and west—is now a country of ruins, a "vast necropolis." Memorials of ancient civilization are exhibited in affecting contrast with modern barbarism; the palace has been succeeded by the fugitive tent of the desert wanderer; and human nature in its most pitiable state of wretched-

ness and abasement now deforms the territory where the genius of antiquity wrought some of its loftiest achievements, and the light of truth triumphed over the darkness of paganism.

NOTES.

Respecting the site of Colosse, Mr. Arundel obtained some additional information from a Greek stone-mason at Denizli :

"I asked my Greek mason if he knew any thing of the town of Colosse. He replied, without hesitation, 'Perfectly well,' and that it stood at Khonas, though no remains were now to be met with. Willing to hear further evidence from so good an authority, I asked him if he knew any thing of a river in the neighbourhood, which disappeared in a chasm of the ground, and re-emerged at a small distance. He said there was such a river at Khonas, on this side of the village, and that he himself had often seen it. He described the distance from the disappearance of the river to its re-emergement, by pointing to a building about a hundred yards from his shop, and saying it was not twice that distance. This agrees with the account which was given by the Greeks at Khonas in some respects, but differs in others."

If this is true, it is strange that it escaped his observation when at Khonas.

A legend of the modern Greeks, mentioned by Mr. Hartley, probably refers to the disappearance of the Lycus at Colosse, though superstition ascribes it to the miraculous intervention of the archangel Taxiarches: "An overwhelming inundation threatened to destroy the Christian population of the city. They were fleeing before it in the utmost consternation, and imploring superior succour for their deliverance. At this critical moment the archangel Michael descended from heaven, opened the chasm in the earth, to which they still point, and at this opening the waters of the inundation were swallowed up, and the multitude was saved."—*p. 53.*

CHAPTER XIII.

SUMMARY.

Corruption of Christianity.—Prophecies respecting the False Teachers.—Fulfilment.—Their immoral character.—Doctrines.—Worship of Demons in Phrygia.—Quotation from Gibbon.—Fate of the Seven Churches.—Prophecy fulfilled.

IT is impossible to review the annals of the church, without painful feelings being excited by the spectacles of awful deterioration and decline which they present. Since the period when it was founded by the labours of the apostles, lamentable departures from the pure faith of the gospel have occurred ; and in the early stages of its progress every age was characterized by the prevalence of additional heresy and corruption. In the survey which has been taken of the Asian communities, we have seen the shades of error obscuring the light of truth ; the most debasing immoralities of heathenism practised under the sanction of the Christian name ; and that faith which sustained its early advocates in “labours more abundant,” gradually becoming enfeebled and corrupt, until it lost every distinctive feature of its original character, and was supplanted by the fables of the crescent, and by the impostures of the “man of sin.” There is, however, one view of the spiritual apostacy, which, instead of afflicting the mind of the Christian, yields a most striking confirmation to his faith ; and, instead

of militating against the interests of religion, so early abused and dishonoured, seems to establish its claims to a divine origin. The declension of the church attests the truth of prophecy.

I. The history of the Seven Churches of Asia, exhibits the gradual decline and corruption of Christianity, and thus illustrates the fulfilment of **SCRIPTURE PROPHECY**.

An apostacy from the faith was anticipated by the Saviour and his apostles, and in the most explicit terms the announcement was given, that the purity of the Christian doctrine would become sullied by error, and its influence perverted to licentiousness. In the state of the Asian churches, as described in the apocalyptic epistles, we have evidence of the fulfilment of these intimations, and the succeeding history of these communities, gives a mournful and impressive confirmation to them. A comparison of the history with the prophecy, abundantly displays this.

1. The introduction of "false prophets" and teachers into the church was foretold :

*"Take heed that no man deceive you. For many shall come in my name, saying, 'I am Christ,' and shall deceive many."*⁴⁰⁹ *"Then if any man shall say unto you, 'Lo, here is Christ, or there,' believe it not. For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets—insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect."*⁴¹⁰ *"For I know this, that after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock."*⁴¹¹ *"Let no man deceive you by any*

⁴⁰⁹ Matt. xxiv. 4, 5.

⁴¹⁰ Matt. xxiv. 23, 24.

⁴¹¹ Acts, xx. 29.

means ; for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition."⁴¹² "*But evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived.*"⁴¹³ "*For the time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears.*"⁴¹⁴ "*But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, who privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that bought them.*"⁴¹⁵

Long before the last of the apostles was removed from the world, these announcements began to be realized—false Christs appeared—and the impious attempt was made to deprive Messiah of his rightful honours. The Ephesians in Paul's time were troubled with Alexander, Philetus, and Hymeneus; the followers of Nicolas were soon after found in Pergamos; and Thyatira was disgraced at the same era by the doctrines of the "woman Jezebel." The apostolic age is marked by the heresies of Simon Magus, Basilides, and Cerinthus—the "mystery of iniquity," which was to be dominant in after times, began to disclose its fearful features—and so rapid and wide were the departures from the truth, that the statement of Jerome is scarcely exaggerated, when he speaks of the body of our Lord being declared to be a phantom while the apostles were still in the world, and the blood of Christ was still fresh

⁴¹² 2 Thess. ii. 3.

⁴¹³ 2 Tim. iii. 13.

⁴¹⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 3.

Peter, ii. 1.

in Judea. The second century swelled the ranks of the false teachers—Valentinus, Cerdo, and Marcion developed the principles of Gnosticism—and upwards of *eighty* heresies, enumerated by Epiphanius, appear to have threatened the pure faith of Christ with extinction during the early period of its history.

2. The immoral character and licentious practices of the false teachers were prophetically declared.

*“And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you.”*⁴¹⁶ *“Spots they are and blemishes, sporting themselves with their own deceivings while they feast with you; having eyes full of adultery, and that cannot cease from sin; beguiling unstable souls; an heart they have exercised with covetous practises; cursed children.”*⁴¹⁷ *“Knowing this first, that there shall come in the last days scoffers walking after their own lusts.”*⁴¹⁸ *“Likewise also these filthy dreamers defile the flesh, despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities.”* *“Raging waves of the sea foaming out their own shame, wandering stars to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.”*⁴¹⁹

These passages strongly remind us of the deeds of the Nicolaitanes, and the followers of Balaam, which dishonoured the apocalyptic churches; the inspiration of the apostles foresaw the vicious character and the abominable intrigues of these base seducers; and the revolting picture of their manners and habits was drawn to arm their converts against their attempts. Soon was the presence of the “evil men” announced

⁴¹⁶ 2 Peter, ii. 3.

⁴¹⁷ 2 Peter, ii. 13, 14.

⁴¹⁸ 2 Peter, iii. 3.

⁴¹⁹ Jude, 8. 13.

seen in the church; for *two* out of the *seven* communities inspected by the Saviour in Patmos, had those within their pale who committed fornication, and joined in the obscene and riotous orgies of the heathen festivals. Many of the early sects avowed in their creed the most deliberate immorality. The Gnostics and Carpocratians regarded marriage as a mere human invention, not binding upon Christians; and, hence, gratified their depraved appetites without restraint, and realized all the fearful scenes which Jude has penciled.⁴²⁰

⁴²⁰ It is not improbable but that the fathers have exaggerated in their accounts of the early heretics, yet still the stigma of gross licentiousness is affixed too generally to them to be for a moment doubted. In the hands of Tertullian the heretic Marcion is undoubtedly treated too severely:⁴²¹

⁴²¹ "That tract, which is called the *Pontus Euxinus*, the hospitable sea, has been refused all favours, and is mocked by its very name. The day is never open, the sun never shines willingly, there is but one atmosphere, fog; the whole year is wintry; every wind that blows comes from the north; liquors are only such before the fire, the rivers are blocked up with ice, the mountains heaped higher with snow; all things are benumbed, all things are stiff with cold: nothing but cruelty has there the warmth of life; that kind of cruelty, I mean, which has supplied the stage with fables concerning the sacrifices of the *Tauri*, and the loves of *Colchia*, and the tortures of *Caucasus*. But there is nothing so barbarous and miserable in *Pontus*, as that it has given birth to *Marcion*; he is more savage than a *Scythian*, more unstable than the wild inhabitant of a waggon, more inhuman than the *Massageta*, more audacious than the *Amazon*, darker than the mist, colder than winter, more brittle than ice, more treacherous than the *Danube*, more precipitous than *Caucasus*. How can the man be otherwise, who darts his blasphemies against the true *Prometheus*, the Almighty God? *Marcion* is more unreasonable than even the beasts of that barbarous region; for what beaver mutilates his own body like the man who forbids marriage? What *Pontic mouse* is so destructive as he who has gnawed in pieces the gospels? Yes, truly, you *Euxine*, you have produced a wild beast that is better suited for heathen philosophers than for Christians. For that cynic dog, *Diogenes*, desired to find a man, and carried about a lantern at noon: *Marcion* having extinguished the light of his faith, lost the God he had found." — *Tert. adv. Marcion. lib. i.*

3. The doctrines promulgated by the false teachers were explicitly foretold.

*“But the spirit speaketh expressly, that in the latter times some shall apostatize from the faith, giving heed to erroneous spirits, and doctrines concerning demons; through the hypocrisy of liars, having their conscience seared with a hot iron; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving.”*⁴²²

The doctrines concerning demons, here referred to, characterized the fanciful system of the Gnostics, who brought the faith of Christ into an association with the principles of the Persian or oriental philosophy. The notion that agencies existed, to whom worship was due, superior to man and yet inferior to the two principles, good and evil, was admitted into most of the ancient philosophical systems; and many of the Christian converts educated in the pagan schools, retained their prejudices in behalf of these subordinate divinities, and readily identified them with the angelic intelligences of the sacred page. The Laodiceans and Colossians were addicted to this idolatry in the first century, and the apostle found it needful to warn them of a “voluntary humility and worshipping of angels.” The Phrygian churches, notwithstanding the admonition, adhered to this corruption of the Christian doctrine: hence, the oratories of St. Michael, which Theodoret mentions as existing in his time among them — the legend we have noticed, of the disappearance of the Lycus owing to the archangel’s interference in behalf of the affrighted Colossians —

⁴²² 1 Tim. iv. 1, 2, 3. Bishop Newton’s translation.

and the condemnation of the worship of angels in the canons of the council of Laodicea. But, agreeably to the prophetic intimation, the "doctrine concerning demons" still subsists in the "latter time;" for the adoration of saints and angels has attended the downward progress of Christianity in both the Latin and Greek churches.

4. The degeneracy and total corruption of Christianity were prophetically announced.

*"And because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold."*⁴²³ *"This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy; without natural affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God; having a form of godliness but denying the power thereof."*⁴²⁴ *"And they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and be turned unto fables."*⁴²⁵

The lamentable departures from the faith and influence of the gospel here spoken of, began to be developed at an early period; and the glory of Christianity was gradually darkened until the era of its total eclipse, when the papacy was established in the west, and the reign of superstitious observance in the east. Even in the times of the apocalypse the apostacy had commenced—the Ephesians had lost their first love—the Sardians had but a name to live—the

⁴²³ Matt. xxiv. 12.

⁴²⁴ 2 Tim. iii. 1 — 5.

⁴²⁵ 2 Tim. iv. 4.

Laodiceans were lukewarm—and the seeds of those evils had been evidently sown, which afterwards reached such a fearful maturity. But the dismal story of the church's fall must be dated from the commencement of her temporal prosperity, when the faith, so often persecuted, and so long despised, was associated with the purple of Constantine, and introduced into the Byzantine palace. It was a fatal era for “pure and undefiled religion,” when the secular alliance was sought—when the homage of the Christian was transferred from the throne of God to the throne of man—and when, instead of travelling through the extended wilderness of this world, leaning upon the arm of her beloved, Christianity reposed upon the aid of the warrior and the civilian. The ambition and pride foretold in the prophecy of Paul to Timothy, rapidly removed every trace of the meekness and gentleness of Christ—the pathway to the patriarchal chairs became often one of blood and murder—and at length the western world was given to the “man of sin,” while the eastern empire fell into the grasp of the Arabian impostor.

II. The history and fate of the seven Asian churches illustrate the fulfilment of APOCALYPTIC PROPHECY.

Gibbon registers their doom in the following beautiful, but cold and sneering language :

“The maritime country from the Propontis to the Meander and the isle of Rhodes, so long threatened and so often pillaged, was finally lost about the thirtieth year of Andronicus the elder. The captivity of the *seven* churches of Asia was consummated ; and the barbarous lords of Ionia and Lydia still trample

on the monuments of classic and Christian antiquity. In the loss of Ephesus the Christians deplored the fall of the first angel, the extinction of the first candlestick of the Revelations: the desolation is complete, and the temple of Diana or the church of Mary will equally elude the search of the curious traveller. The circus and three stately theatres of Laodicea are now peopled with wolves and foxes; Sardis is reduced to a miserable village; the God of Mahomet, without a rival or a son, is invoked in the mosque of Thyatira and Pergamos; and the populousness of Smyrna is supported by the foreign trade of the Franks and Armenians. Philadelphia alone has been saved by prophecy and courage." In an unnecessary and insulting note he adds: "The more pious antiquaries labour to reconcile the promises and threats of the author of the Revelations, with the present state of the seven cities — perhaps it would be more prudent to confine his predictions to the characters and events of his own times."⁴²⁶

The gratuitous caution of the prejudiced historian, is one against which the author of the Revelations has thought proper to warn us; he "writes," as he expressly states, the things "which shall be hereafter;" and, however *imprudent* an infidel may deem the procedure, he commits the credit of his inspiration to the fulfilment of his announcements in the future. And remote posterity bears witness, that his "prophecy came not by the will of man;" for the subsequent annals of those communities to whom he unfolded the high purposes of heaven, exhibit the execution

⁴²⁶ Gibbon. vol. xi. p. 437.

of the judgments he threatened, and the peculiar accomplishment of the promises he declared.

To Ephesus, shorn of her religious ardour, and fallen from her first love, the extinction of the light and influence of Christianity was foretold; and the total subversion of both church and city followed as the punishment of her impenitence. There is now no trace of the faith that was once preached—the candlestick has been removed from the station where it was planted by apostles—the traveller looks down from the heights of Prion, Corissus, and Pactyas, upon a scene of solitude and desolation—all is silence, except when occasionally interrupted by the sea-birds' cry, the barking of Turcoman's dogs, or the impressive tones of the muezzin from the ruined towers of Aisalük—and the remains of the temples, churches, and palaces of Ephesus, are now buried beneath the accumulated sands of the Cayster. The Sardians and Laodiceans were found degenerate and lukewarm; and to a similar doom of subversion they were to be subject—there are now no Christians in either. A few mud huts in Sart represent the ancient splendour of Cræsus; and the nodding ruins of its acropolis, with the colossal tumuli of the Lydian kings, impressively teach the littleness of man, the vanity of human glory. But in Laodicea the scene is far more cheerless and dreary: no human being resides among its ruins; the abandonment threatened has indeed overtaken it; and neither Christ nor Mahomet has either temple or follower upon its site. The fate of Pergamos and Thyatira has not been so severe; but the foretold apostacies here triumphed over evangelical

truth, and they now groan beneath Turkish cruelty and despotism. But the fortunes of Smyrna and Philadelphia have most remarkably corresponded with the disclosures of the apocalypse: in every age that has revolved, they have experienced an "hour of temptation;" the heathen priest, the Roman emperor, and the Turkish bandit, successively inflicted the tribulation announced; while, notwithstanding the devastations of war, earthquakes, and persecutions, according to the original promise, the faith has survived in both cities the injuries it has suffered.

"Such is the state," says Newton, "and condition of these seven once glorious and flourishing churches; and there cannot be a stronger proof of the truth of prophecy, nor a more effectual warning to other Christians. 'These objects,' as Wheler justly observes, 'ought to make us, who yet enjoy the divine mercies, to tremble, and earnestly contend to find out *from whence we are fallen*, and do daily fall from bad to worse; that God is a God of *purser eyes than to behold iniquity*: and seeing *the axe* is thus long since *put to the root of the tree*, should it not make us repent and turn to God, lest we likewise perish? We see here *what destruction the Lord hath brought upon the earth*. But *it is the Lord's doing*: and thence we may reap no small advantage by considering, how *just* he is in all his judgments, and *faithful* in all his promises!" "Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come. Wherefore, let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

APPENDIX.

NO. I.

PLACES IN THE PROVINCES, ADJACENT TO THE CHURCHES
OF THE APOCALYPSE, VISITED BY THE APOSTLES.

ANCYRA. Though this place is not mentioned by name in the New Testament, there can be no doubt, from the mention made of an apostolic journey through the "region of Galatia," that it was visited by Paul and Silas, and that the believers in its principal cities and Ancyra its capital, were the "foolish Galatians" to whom the former sent an epistle: Acts, xvi. 6. Its inhabitants paid divine honours to Augustus and some of his successors; their city was a stronghold of idolatry; and its priests advanced with their idols to meet the emperor Julian, when on his fatal expedition into the east. It became the seat of a bishopric as Christianity spread: fell alternately into the hands of Chosroes, Haroun al Raschid, the crusaders, and the Turks; and under its modern name of Angora, it is said by Pococke to contain upwards of ten thousand Christians, principally Armenians.

ANTIOCHEIA AD PISIDIAM. This city was visited by Paul and Barnabas: Acts, xiii. 14. In the synagogue Paul gave a long address to the Jews, which the Gentiles wished him to deliver again the ensuing sabbath. A church was immediately after formed, "and as many as were ordained to eternal life believed." This city, once the capital of Pisidia has wholly disappeared; and even its site has not been ascertained. Mr. Arundel places it near Isbarta, a town to the west of the sites of Laodicea and Colosse. "Antioch was the capital of Pisidia: Isbarta is the chief city of Hamid. Antioch was the metropolitan see of Pisidia, and is so named in the Notitia: Isbarta is or ought to be the residence of the bishop of Pisidia, though at present he lives at Lysia." The

chief men of this city persecuted and expelled the apostles, and they "shook off the dust of their feet against them:" in a signal manner has their rejection of the gospel been visited; their city has been destroyed and even its site has perished.

ATTALIA. Paul and Barnabas were here "preaching the word," and from this seaport they embarked for the Syrian Antioch: Acts, xiv. 25. It is still a large and populous town, and ruins and inscriptions attest its former consequence.

ASSOS. This maritime town, to the north of Smyrna, was visited by Paul and Luke, &c. Paul came on foot from Troas, and his companions by sea: Acts, xx. 13, 14. The apostles, on their voyage from this place to Mitylene, would be within sight of the acropolis of Pergamos.

DERBE. The gospel was preached in this city by Paul and Barnabas, and "many," we are told, were "taught:" Acts, xiv. 6, 20, 21. "Gaius of Derbe" was one of the companions of Paul, when he went up to Jerusalem with the collection for the saints: he had probably been chosen by the Lycaonian churches their messenger upon the occasion: Acts, xx. 4. The church of Derbe is now no more—the city itself has perished, and the memory of its site is lost. Count Alexander de Laborde sought for some remains to determine where it stood, but the search was fruitless.

ICONIUM. Paul was frequently at this place (Acts, xiii. 51; xiv. 1, 2, 3); and here he was called to endure persecution: 2 Tim. iii. 11. It was the capital of Lycaonia; is noticed by Xenophon, Cicero, and Strabo; and appears to have contained a considerable number of disciples. During the Seljukian dynasty, it was the residence of the sultan; it received again the cross, with the victorious troops of Barbarossa; but was finally annexed by Bajazet to the empire of the crescent. The Greeks have a metropolitan bishop in Konieh (Iconium), but the city swarms with mosques and dervishes; and the Christians, ignorant of their ancient tongue, employ the language of their oppressors.

LYSTRA. This was another city of Lycaonia, favoured with the ministry of Paul, and probably contiguous to Iconium and Derbe: Acts, xiv. 6. The inhabitants of this place were about to pay divine honours to the apostles, calling Barnabas, Jupiter, and Paul, Mercurius. Lois, Eunice, and Timothy, were converts here. The site of Lystra has been sought for in vain by modern travellers. Count Laborde heard of extensive ruins called *Bin Eglisi*, the "thousand churches," which were reported to be its remains; but after accurate investigation no vestige was discovered to sanction such a conclusion.

MYRA. This was a seaport of Lycia, at which Paul touched when on his voyage to Rome: Acts, xxvii. 5. Tradition regards it as a place of peculiar sanctity, being the spot where the apostle preached, and where the ashes of St. Nicholas repose. The bishop of Myra had once thirty-six suffragan sees under his jurisdiction. The city is now in ruins; its remains present specimens of exquisite sculpture; and an inconsiderable village at a short distance preserves its name.

PATARA. This was another Lycian seaport, at which Paul landed after his voyage from Miletus, on his way to Jerusalem: Acts, xxi. 1. It was once a magnificent place, honoured by the emperors, crowded with temples, and a favourite residence of the gods of heathenism. A colossal hand has been found among its remains, in the act of grasping; a relic of Jupiter and his thunderbolt, as the word *ZEYΣ* occurs upon many fallen columns. The deities of Olympus were here supplanted by the apostles of Christianity, and the fruit of their toils has now disappeared before the influence of a system as false as the old idolatry. Patara is in ruins.

PERGA. The preaching of the word in this place by Paul and Barnabas is expressly mentioned: Acts, xiv. 25. It was an inland town of Pamphylia, but its site has yet to be discovered.

SAGALASSUS. Though this place is not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, we have evidence to sanction the conclusion, that it attracted the notice of Paul. He went "throughout Pisidia;" and Sagalassus, according to Artemidorus, in Strabo, was its second

city: he also went down from Perga to Antiocheia, and the high road between the two places would lie through it. It occupies an important place in the ecclesiastical Notitiæ; but it has been utterly desolated, and its site has with difficulty been discovered at the modern village of Aglason. An inscription

ΗΣΑΓΑΛΑΣΣΕΩΝ
ΠΟΛΙΑ ΠΙΑ [ΙΑΙΑΑ]

for which we are indebted to Mr. Arundel, demonstrates its position here.

TROAS. The gospel was here early introduced; Paul visited it on several occasions; and at one time he stayed with his companions "seven days:" Acts, xx. 5, 6.; 2 Cor. xii. 12. 2. Its situation on the east, north of Pergamos, renders it probable that the light of Christianity reached that city from the Troad, through the instrumentality of the apostle. The place is now in ruins; and many of its remains have been removed to Constantinople, to serve for building materials.

TROGYLLIUM. Here Paul "tarried" when going up to Jerusalem, with Sopater of Berea; Aristarchus and Secundus of the Thessalonians; Gaius of Derbe; and Timotheus, Tychicus, and Trophimus of Asia: Acts, xx. 4. 15. It was a promontory to the south of Ephesus, in the neighbourhood of the Ionian city, Priene, and the celebrated Panionium on Mycale.

NO. II.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTITIÆ.

Provincia Asiæ.

METROPOLITANUS. ——— EPHESI.

Episcopus.

1 Hypeporum.	4 Eleæ.	8 Mastaurorum.
2 Trallium.	5 Adramytii.	9 Caloes.
3 Magnesiae ad Me- andrum.	6 Assi.	10 Bryullorum.
	7 Gargarorum.	11 Pittamnes.

12 Myrines.	21 Pergami.	30 Leredi.
13 Phociæ.	22 Aneorum.	31 Tei.
14 Aurillapolis.	23 Prienes.	32 Erythrarum.
15 Nisæ.	24 Arcadiopolis.	33 Clazomenarum.
16 Maschacomæ.	25 Novæ Aulæ.	34 Attadrorum.
17 Metropolis.	26 Templi Jovis.	35 Peperinæ.
18 Barettorum.	27 Augazorum.	36 Cymæ.
19 Magnesîæ.	28 Sion.	37 Palæopolis.
20 Aninatum.	29 Colophones.	

Provincia Lydiæ.

METROPOLITANUS. ——— SARDIUM.

Episcopus.

1 Philadelphia.	10 Meoniæ.	19 Mesotymoli.
2 Triopolis.	11 Fani Apollonis.	20 Hierocæsareæ.
3 Thyatirorum.	12 Hyrcanidis.	21 Dallæ.
4 Settorum.	13 Mustinæ.	22 Stratoniceæ.
5 Aurilliapolis.	14 Arcasti.	23 Ceraseorum.
6 Gordorum.	15 Apolloniadis.	24 Sattalorum.
7 Troallorum.	16 Attaliæ.	25 Gabalorum.
8 Salorum.	17 Bagæ.	26 Hermocapelîæ.
9 Silandi.	18 Balandi.	

Provincia Phrygiæ Cappatiani.

METROPOLITANUS. ——— LAODICEÆ.

Episcopus.

1 Tiberiopolis.	7 Ieriorum.	13 Agathæ come.
2 Azanorum.	8 Iluzorum.	14 Alinorum.
3 Ancyrosynai.	9 Tranopolis.	15 Tripolis.
4 Peltorum.	10 Sebastæ.	16 Attanassi.
5 Appiæ.	11 Eumeniæ.	17 Trapezopolis.
6 Acadorum.	12 Timeni therarum.	18 Sibliæ.

NO. III.

ROUTES.

From	to	Miles,	Bearing.
Ephesus, . . .	Smyrna, . . .	40 . . .	N.
Smyrna, . . .	Pergamos, . . .	64 . . .	N.
Pergamos, . . .	Thyatira, . . .	50 . . .	S.E.
Thyatira, . . .	Sardis, . . .	30 . . .	S.
Sardis, . . .	Philadelphia, . . .	28 . . .	E.
Philadelphia, . . .	Laodicea, . . .	60 . . .	S.E.
Laodicea, . . .	Ephesus, . . .	112 . . .	W.

Route from the Plain of the Caicus to Sardis, according to Strabo.

"On the east is the city Apollonia, seated on an eminence; and on the south a ridge of mountains. Passing over this and going towards Sardis, Thyatira is on the left, and on the right Apollonis, distant three hundred stadia, or thirty-seven miles and a half, both from Pergamum and from Sardis. Then follows the plain of the river Hermus, and this city."

Route in Peutinger's Table.

Pergamum,	—
Germe,	m. p. 25
Thyatira,	33
Sardis,	36
Philadelphia,	30
Tripolis,	34
Hierapolis,	12
From Thyatira to Smyrna, . . .	36
From Sardis to Hypæpa, . . .	20

Route in the Antonine Itinerary.

Pergamum,	—
Germa,	m. p. 25
Thyatira,	33
Sardis,	33
Philadelphia,	28
Tripolis,	33
Hierapolis,	12

The ancient Route through Ionia from Caria, according to Strabo.

From	to	Stadia,	Miles.
The Meander, . . .	Tralles, . . .	80 . .	10
Tralles,	Magnesia, . .	140 . .	17½
Magnesia,	Ephesus, . .	120 . .	15
Ephesus,	Smyrna, . .	320 . .	40
Smyrna,	Phocæ, . .	200 . .	25
Extent of Ionia,		860	107½

NO. IV.

APOSTLES, APOSTOLICAL, AND PRIMITIVE FATHERS CONNECTED WITH THE CHURCHES OF THE LESSER ASIA.

PAUL. — Planted the gospel in Cilicia, Galatia, Lycaonia, Phrygia, Mysia, Ionia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia : he also visited Caria and Lycia.

Six of his epistles were sent into the Lesser Asia : one to Ephesus, one to Colosse, one to Galatia, two to Timothy in Ephesus, and one to Philemon in Colosse.

He commenced his labours in Asia, at Tarsus in Cilicia, his native place, perhaps as early as the year 39 ; and the last time he was in the country, was when at Myra in Lydia, on his way to Rome, about A. D. 59.

PETER. — Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus. — *Orig. Euseb. and Inscript. to first epistle.*

LUKE. — Mysia, Caria, and Lycia, accompanying Paul.

JOHN. — Ionia.

MARK. — Pamphylia.

BARNABAS. — Galatia, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Pisidia, and Pamphylia.

SILAS. — Cilicia, Phrygia, Galatia, and Mysia.

AQUILA, } — Ephesus.
APOLLOS, }

TYCHICUS, } — Ephesus.
TROPHIMUS, }

TIMOTHY. — Lycaonia, Phrygia, Galatia, Mysia, Ephesus,

- Epaphras. — Laodicea, Colosse, and Hierapolis.
 Ignatius. — At Smyrna and Troas, A. D. 107.
 Polycarp. — Bishop of Smyrna, A. D. 108.
 Papias. — Bishop of Hierapolis, A. D. 116.
 Justin Martyr. — At Ephesus, about A. D. 140.
 Melito. — Bishop of Sardis, A. D. 177.
 Irenæus. — Probably born at Smyrna, A. D. 140.
 Polycrates. — Bishop of Ephesus, A. D. 196.
 Palmas. — Bishop of Amastris in Pontus, A. D. 170.
 Claudius Apollinaris. — Bishop of Hierapolis, A. D. 176.

NO. V,

THE GREEK CHURCH.

Order of the Greek Priesthood.

- Patriarch of Constantinople, the head of the eastern church.
 Patriarch of Alexandria, jurisdiction confined to Egypt.
 Patriarch of Antioch, presides over the churches of Asia Minor.
 Patriarch of Jerusalem, over the churches of Palestine.
 Archbishops, those of Wallachia and Moldavia have the precedence.
 Bishops.
 Chiefs of convents, Protopapas, Priest, Deacon, Laic.

The Greek church, in common with the Roman, practises the adoration of the Virgin, and the worship of saints. "May your father become a saint," is a common saying among the beggars of the Levant. The churches are crowded with pictures of the saints — many a Basil and Chrysostom have been defaced by the kisses of their votaries; and so easily are the honours of the saintship attained, that every year alarmingly swells the catalogue. The first thing a Greek does on entering his church, is to salute the principal pictures, cross himself repeatedly before them, and fervently invoke their blessing. This veneration for the saints is frequently recorded upon Greek tombstones.

Inscription copied from a tomb in the great burying-ground at Constantinople:

"HERE LIES THE SERVANT OF GOD, ANTONY, THE SON OF JOHN THOMAS MARIM ASAKHENE. 1778, MARCH 2ND. WORSHIPPER OF ST. NICOLAS."

In 1817 an account of a journey to the whole seven churches, by the Rev. H. Lindsay, was published in the *Missionary Register*.

Subsequently the Rev. F. V. J. Arundel, chaplain at Smyrna, and the Rev. John Hartley, a church missionary in the Levant, have explored the scenes of the apocalyptic epistles.

Tournefort, Van Egmont, and Choiseul Gouffier, among the foreign travellers, have surveyed Smyrna, Ephesus, Sardis, and Thyatira.

NO. VII.

CORRUPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

In the fourth century, the departure from the faith of the gospel anticipated by the apostles, seems to have been realized; for there is scarcely one error of the papacy, which we do not find advanced in the writings of the eastern fathers. Gregory of Nyssa, commonly called *St. Gregory*, brother of Basil the Great, A. D. 371, supports in his works the following features of the Romish creed: Purgatory: (*de Inf. Præmat. Abrept.*) Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper: (*Catechet. Mag.*) Monasticism: (*de Virgin.*) Sufficiency of Tradition for the ground of Faith: (*quod non sint tres Dii.*) Perpetual Virginity: (*in Diem. Nat. Christ.*) The necessity of water being blessed for Baptism: (*in eos qui differ. Bap. and de Bap. Christ.*) The expiation and destruction of Sin by Baptism: (*Orat. in Bap. Christ.*) Peter, the foundation of the Church: (*de S. Steph.*) Relics: (*Orat. 3 de 40 Martyr. and de Theod. Martyr.*) Intercession of Saints: (*Orat. in Theod. Martyr. and in Vit. Ephræm Syr.*) Signing with the cross: (*Vit. Macrin.*)

THE END.

